A VIEW OF ANTIENT HISTORY;

INCLUDING THE PROGRESS OF

LITERATURE AND THE FINE ARTS.

BY

WILLIAM RUTHERFORD, D.D.

MASTER OF THE ACADEMY AT UXBRIDGE.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR;

AND

SOLD BY J. MURRAY, No 32, FLEET-STREET.

M DCC LXXXVIII.

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WILLIAM RUTHERFORD, D.D.

CHAPLAIN OF THE ACADEMY AT WOOLWICH.

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TO

THE MOST NOBLE

The Marquis of LANSDOWN,

EARL OF SHELBURNE, *&c. &c.*

KNIGHT OF MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

MY LORD,

I BEG leave to dedicate to your Lordſhip the following Volume, which contains a View of Antient Hiſtory, from its commencement after the Deluge, to the concluſion of the firſt war between the Greeks and Perſians. In compoſing a work, originally intended for the inſtruction and improvement of youth, I have ſtudied to ſelect my materials from the moſt authentic ſources; to ſeparate

the region of fable from that of hiſtory; and to ſuggeſt ſuch views of human affairs, as ſerve not only to enlighten the mind, but to form the heart to virtue, and inſpire principles of true religion. In arranging the records of antiquity, it occurred to me, that ſomething of more importance might be communicated, than the mere detail of tranſactions; and that by combining the progreſs of human diſcoveries, of the fine arts and of literature, with the ſeries of hiſtorical incidents, materials of reflection and objects of reſearch might be ſuggeſted, that would not only prove uſeful to the young, when entering into life, but intereſting to the world at large. How far I have ſucceeded in my plan, I muſt leave to

the deciſion of thoſe readers who, like your Lordſhip, not only peruſe, but ſtudy the volumes of Antient and Modern Hiſtory.

It redounded to the praiſe of the antients, that a taſte for the arts and ſciences was frequently united with talents for public affairs; the road to buſineſs and the path to literature coincided; and the hero and the ſtateſman joined to the cares of the commonwealth an elegant intercourſe with the Muſes. Nor is this union, however rare, altogether unknown in modern times. Foreign nations, as well as the Engliſh, have remarked the variety and extent of your Lordſhip's literary acquirements; have admired your profound knowledge of continental politics, joined to a perfect

acquaintance with the affairs of your own country; and extolled your zeal to promote the intereſts of ſcience, and diſtinguiſh men of letters by your patronage.

WHILE under the ſhade of the olive we cultivate the arts which are the offſpring of peace, it is impoſſible not to reflect with gratitude on the Miniſter to whoſe abilities we are indebted for that ineſtimable bleſſing. It belongs to future hiſtorians to record, that after the moſt calamitous war, in which this kingdom was ever involved, a ſtateſman aroſe, who, by the aſcendency of ſuperior talents, eſtabliſhed peace among the contending nations, retrieved the fallen fortunes of his country, and reſtored Britain to her antient rank and dignity in the ſyſtem of Europe.

THAT

THAT your Lordſhip may long live to maintain the poſt of honour, whether in a public or a private ſtation, and, with the independent ſpirit of a Briton, to ſupport or reſiſt the politics of the times, as they are favourable or adverſe to the public good, is the earneſt wiſh of,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient

and moſt humble Servant,

WILLIAM RUTHERFORD.

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ERRATA.

Page 25, line 8, *for* conquests, *read* career.
—, line 20, *for* demonstrate, *read* demonstrates.
31, line 9, *for* where, *read* at which.
54, last line, *for* were the, *read* were only the.
55, line 17, *for* Eneph, *read* Cneph.
89, line 5, *for* of the, *read* which belong to the.
96, last line, *for* astronomy, *read* astrology.
126, line 14, *for* whom, *read* which.
171, line 11, *for* Rebla, *read* Kebla.
272, line 3, *for* Jaob, *read* Joab.

Any other typographical errors that may occur, the reader is desired to correct with his pen.

A VIEW OF ANTIENT HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

UNIVERSAL hiſtory coincides with the ſacred records in aſcribing a recent origin to the human race. If from phyſical obſervations on the phenomena of the earth, the philoſopher be led to refer its original creation to a high antiquity, from ſimilar obſervations he regards it in its preſent form, as riſing from the ruins of a former ſtructure, by one of thoſe revolutions which are incident to the globe, as well as its inhabitants. Theſe concluſions, which the philoſopher draws from the appearances of nature, are confirmed by the reſearches of the hiſtorian, who diſcerns unequivocal marks of the infancy of mankind in every part of the world. No written

INTRODUCTION.

records ascend beyond the period of four thousand years; no monuments appear on the surface, or are discovered in the bowels of the earth, of nations, with whose history we are not in some degree acquainted; no remains of art are now apparent, by which the human hand can be recognized, anterior to the page of history, or the tales of tradition.

The deluge.

We are assured, from the certain evidence of sacred history, that, above 4000 years ago, a convulsion of the elements took place, and the world assumed a new form. The memorials of that general deluge, which changed the globe, and destroyed its inhabitants, are transmitted by universal tradition, and recorded on the face of nature.

The surviving remnants of the old world, whose piety preserved them in the general wreck, are the second ancestors of the human race. The preternatural longevity which they enjoyed, was favourable to the multiplication of their descendants, and the gradual population of the earth. From those countries in Asia, where the family of Noah, the father of the new world, settled or wandered after the flood, we can trace the migrations of the first men towards the western hemisphere. In proportion to their distance from

their native region, we find the nations more or less civilized; the course of improvement has run from east to west. Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, Gaul, Britain, which one after another were enlightened and refined, derived their knowledge and their refinement from an intercourse more immediate or remote with that part of the world which retained some portion of civility and the arts; whilst the rest of mankind degenerated into barbarians and savages.

First ages after the flood.

In the first ages after the flood, the pastoral life, which had been adopted by the patriarchs, was the occupation of men. The bonds of propinquity, and the terror of wild beasts, would keep them united, while their numbers were inconsiderable. But at a period when the life of man extended to three centuries, and in fertile regions as yet but thinly inhabited, the growth of population would be prodigious. In the pastoral state, men are accustomed to migrate from place to place with their families and their flocks; a large extent of territory is requisite for the subsistence of a small tribe; frequent quarrels would arise among rival fraternities, similar to those which took place between the herdsmen of Abraham and the herdsmen of Lot; accord-

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ingly they would be diſpoſed to recede from one another, and gradually compelled to ſpread themſelves over the earth. All hiſtory abounds with proofs, that ſuch a migrating ſpirit has operated over the far greater part of the globe; it has never ceaſed to actuate a large portion of mankind; and ſtill prevails among the Arabians of the deſert, and the numberleſs hordes that wander over the immenſe continent ſtretching from the north of European Turkey to the northern frontier of China. In ſuch a ſituation it required no miracle to diſperſe men, when it was impoſſible they could remain united and keep together. The common opinion concerning the confuſion of languages at the building of Babel, and the conſequent diſperſion of mankind, as a judgment from heaven, is inconſiſtent with the Moſaic narrative. Long after this period, the ſame language was ſpoken in different parts of the world. Abraham, who came from Meſopotamia, ſojourned among various nations of Aſia, among the deſcendants of Ham in Egypt, and converſed with them all. And it is evident, from ſacred ſcripture, that after this era, the ſame language, or different dialects of the ſame language, prevailed from the gulf of Perſia to the pillars of Hercules, and

Diſperſion of tribes.

The confuſion of languages.

and from the ſouth point of Arabia to the Black-ſea.

FROM the generations of the ſons of Noah, recorded in Geneſis *, it alſo appears, that the tribes of men diſperſed themſelves over the earth, according to the ties of kindred and natural connection; an event which could not have taken place, had they been ſcattered in a tumultuous manner, and in conſequence of the Divine vengeance. After enumerating the deſcendants of Japhet, "By "theſe," ſays Moſes, "were the iſles of the "Gentiles divided in their lands, every one "after his tongue, after their families, in "their nations." Similar expreſſions are employed with reſpect to the poſterity of Shem and of Ham. Theſe expreſſions ſuppoſe, that nations were formed according to the natural connections of blood and of language; and, of conſequence, that they owed their origin to choice, and not to the accidental concourſe of fugitives who were ſtrangers to the language of one another.

As the various tribes ſeparated from the parent ſtock in the infancy of arts, and before language had become copious or fixed,

* Chap. x.

INTRODUCTION.

their future progreſs is eaſily explained. Thoſe who ſettled in the fine climate and fertile region of Aſia, would ſoon naturally be led to unite under a regular form of government, cultivate arts, and improve their language.

Savage ſtate.

The hordes who migrated to the mountains, and the dens of Europe, found countries overgrown with wood, and inhabited only by wild beaſts. Hunting became their chief reſource for ſubſiſtence; arms were their firſt neceſſaries. Unconnected with the tribes whom they had left behind, ſubſiſting by the chace, and living in a ſtate of war with the beaſts of the field, the ſcanty knowledge of arts which they could boaſt of, would ſoon be forgotten, and neceſſity limit their ideas and their language, to the narrow points of ſubſiſtence and ſecurity. A tribe of hunters in a ſavage foreſt, partake the nature of their aſſociates, the wolf and the lion, and neceſſarily become ferocious. Accordingly we find traces and veſtiges of that primitive condition of our ſpecies in the early accounts of Europe, Africa, America, and of every part of the world, except thoſe regions of Aſia, whoſe inhabitants never abandoned their original abodes, nor intirely loſt the arts and acquiſitions of their fathers.

CIVILIZED nations are the ſubjects of hiſtory;

tory; and, in proportion as wild and wandering tribes begin to ſettle in a fixed habitation, to build cities, to form governments, and to inſtitute laws, their annals become intereſting, and deſerve to be recorded.

CIVIL hiſtory agrees with ſacred in repreſenting Aſia as the firſt civilized portion of the world. There Nimrod laid the foundation of the Babylonian, and Aſſur of the Aſſyrian empire, in the firſt ages after the flood. The regions known at preſent by the name of Perſia, muſt have made early advances to civilization; for their ſovereign Chedorlaomer, in the days of Abraham, had ſubjected a great extent of country to his authority. Several ſtates, often mentioned by Moſes, were alſo formed, at that time, in Paleſtine, and on the banks of Jordan. But little is known concerning theſe early ages. The ſacred books, the only certain ſources of information with regard to ſuch remote events, leave us intirely in the dark. The relations of profane hiſtorians are obſcure, fabulous, and contradictory. In general, it appears, both from ſacred and profane hiſtory, that Nineveh and Babylon were originally the capitals of two kingdoms, were governed by diſtinct monarchs, and continued ſeparate 440 years.

Foundation of Babylon and Nineveh.

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Of the ſovereigns who reigned at Nineveh from Aſſur to Ninus, the hiſtory is loſt: their names are not ſo much as recorded. The Aſſyrian empire, ſo celebrated in hiſtory, like other early eſtabliſhments, was inconſiderable in its commencement. Ninus was the firſt who attempted to enlarge its boundaries by foreign conqueſt.

After Nimrod, ſeven kings, Chaldeans by birth, reigned ſucceſſively at Babylon. A family of princes, originally from Arabia, then ſeized on the throne. Six of theſe ſucceeded each other without interruption. Under the laſt of theſe kings, Ninus, the ſovereign of Aſſyria, attacked and defeated the Babylonians, and by that conqueſt joined the throne of Babylon to that of Nineveh, about 590 years after the flood. From the union of theſe two nations into one great people, the antient empire of the Aſſyrians aroſe; an empire which held Aſia in ſubjection for eight hundred years.

Subjects of hiſtory in the early ages of the world.

Kings and nations are not the ſubjects of hiſtory in the early ages of the world. The progreſs of the human race is every where ſlow and gradual, and the firſt form of ſociety always rude and imperfect. Aſia, like Europe, was originally divided into ſmall co-ordinate ſtates; every

every city was governed by its own chief, or ruler; and petty principalities, independent of one another, were univerſally eſtabliſhed,—*Quot urbes tot regna*, is the deſcription of nations in their original ſtate, in every country of the world. The kingdoms of Nineveh and Babylon, conſiſted each of one mighty city with its environs. They were properly fortified provinces, in which the people plowed and ſowed, and paſtured their cattle within the walls. The empires of Aſſyria, Chaldea, and Perſia, were the effect of conqueſt, the growth of time, and the work of ages. Previous to the period wherein they begin to figure as kingdoms, Egypt becomes the principal ſcene of hiſtorical record; a country which, though not the firſt inhabited, was the firſt civilized part of the world.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Of the EGYPTIANS.

CHAP. I.

Deſcription of Egypt.

ANTIENT Egypt conſiſted of a narrow region, which reached from Syene in Ethiopia, downwards to the Delta, following the courſe of the Nile. It is bounded on the eaſt by the Red-ſea and the Iſthmus of Suez, on the ſouth by Ethiopia, on the weſt by Lybia, and on the north by the Mediterranean. The Nile runs from ſouth to north through the whole country, ſix hundred miles in length. This long tract is incloſed on each ſide with a ridge of mountains; the ſpace between the river and the hills on either hand, ſometimes extends only to the diſtance of ſixteeen miles. On the coaſt of the Mediterranean the extent of the plain is above three hundred miles *.

Diviſion of Egypt.

ANTIENT Egypt was divided into three principal parts; Upper Egypt, otherwiſe called

* Diodor. lib. ii. Jul. African. apud. Syncell. p. 92.

Thebais,

Thebais, the moſt ſouthern diviſion; Middle Egypt, or Heptanomis, ſo called from the ſeven diſtricts into which it was divided; and Lower Egypt, which included the Delta and all the country as far as the Red-ſea, and along the Mediterranean to Rhinocolura, or Mount Caſius. Under Seſoſtris all Egypt became one kingdom, and was divided into thirty-ſix governments. The cities of Syene and Elephantina divided Egypt from Ethiopia, and in the days of Auguſtus were the boundaries of the Roman Empire.

Importance of its hiſtory.

THIS celebrated country has a claim to the attention of all nations and ages. The Egyptians were the firſt enlightened and refined people of the antient world; and the ſpecimens which they exhibited in arts, and in literature, became models of imitation to other nations. Here philoſophy found its earlieſt ſeat; and the light of ſcience was kindled, whoſe radiance diffuſing itſelf over Greece, has ſucceſſively illuminated the reſt of the world. The wiſdom of the Egyptians was proverbial among the nations of antiquity. Orpheus and Homer adopted their mythology; Pythagoras and Plato inſtructed themſelves in their mathematical and philoſophical diſcoveries; Lycurgus and Solon ſtudied the principles

CHAP. I.

principles of their legiſlation and government. When Greece was in the meridian of its ſplendor, and renowned for arts, as well as arms, no perſon could riſe to diſtinction who had not viſited the banks of the Nile, and converſed with the fathers of ſcience.

IT is difficult to form a juſt judgment of a people whoſe hiſtory has periſhed. Our materials of information concerning them are ſcattered up and down the writings of the early Greeks who travelled into Egypt. To ſtudy their hiſtory is to walk among ruins. There the vulgar eye diſcerns nothing but marks of deſolation: the contemplative mind may be led, from the natural prejudice in favour of antiquity, to attribute too much to a ſplendor that has paſſed away, and to efforts of genius that may return no more. By conſidering cauſes in connection with their actual conſequences, and forbearing conjecture when unſupported by evidence, errors, whether on the ſide of admiration or contempt, may be avoided, and a juſt eſtimation formed of this ſingular people.

Formation of Egypt.

THE formation of Egypt is not the leaſt ſingular part of its hiſtory. This antient country, like Venice or Holland in modern times, was gained from the waters, and is in a great meaſure

meaſure the creation of the human hand. The Nile, like the Euphrates, the Indus, and the Ganges, annually overflows its banks. The inundation continues for a hundred days, and covers the whole country. The river which overflows the fields enriches them at the ſame time; the ſoil acquires new fertility; and when the waters retire, vegetation comes on with rapidity. The richneſs of the land, and the beauty of the ſcene, would tempt inhabitants to occupy this delightful region; frequently would their flocks and herds be ſwept away; But experience inſtructs; neceſſity, the parent of ingenious invention, ſuggeſted the means of remedying the evil, and at the ſame time retaining the benefit of this annual inundation. Accordingly trenches and canals were cut to conduct the water through all the country without overflowing it; towns and villages were ſituated on riſing grounds; houſes of ſeveral ſtories were reared; and high terraces formed, to communicate between one city and another.

At the point where the Nile divides into many ſtreams, the country below was long a moraſs; but when in the courſe of improvement canals were made, and the waters drained

CHAP. I.

ed away, it became the richeſt, and at the ſame time the moſt beautiful part of Egypt. It was called Delta, from its triangular figure, and reſemblance to the Greek letter of that name; and was divided into a number of iſlands which ſwarmed with inhabitants. Theſe iſlands abounded in towns and cities beyond any part of the world, and were adorned with gardens, containing a profuſion of fruit-trees of every kind, particularly palms, peach-trees, and groves of acacia.

The Delta.

On the Lybian ſide, to the left of the Nile, a chain of mountains, continued almoſt from the Cataracts to Fayoum, ſuddenly departs towards Lybia, and returning eaſtward, forms an immenſe baſon, lower than the bed of the river. This region was formerly covered by barren ſands. An antient king, named Mœris, conceived the magnificent though arduous project of changing this deſart into an uſeful lake. When the ſoil was dug, and cleared, he formed a canal, one hundred and twenty miles in length, and three hundred feet wide, to introduce the waters of the Nile. This grand canal, which is ſtill intire, is known by the name of Bahr Youſeph, or River of Joſeph, and is in many places cut through the rock. In this manner

Lake of Mœris.

ner the lake Mœris was formed, "which," according to Strabo *, "for its extent, colour, and ſhores reſembles a ſea." CHAP. I.

Two other canals (thoſe of Tamich and Bouch) were cut by this prince, and ſluices formed near their mouths, which were ſhut during the increaſe of the Nile. During the inundation, the waters entering through the canal of Joſeph, were collected in the vaſt circumference of the lake Mœris, where they were bounded by mountains on one ſide and mounds on the other. When the Nile decreaſed, the ſluices of the leſſer canals were opened, and a body of water near eighty leagues in circumference †, and thirty feet higher than the uſual level of the river, formed a ſecond inundation, directed at will: One part was returned to the Nile for the purpoſe of navigation; another branched into innumerable rivulets, watered the fields, and diffuſed fertility in its courſe. Canals.

The richneſs and abundance of this favoured country are the gift of the Nile. It ſeldom rains in Egypt; but the river, which waters the whole by its regular inundations, conveys to it the rains and ſnows of other

* Lib. xvii. † Herodotus.

countries.

CHAP. I.

countries. To multiply the beneficence of the Nile, Egypt was croſſed by numberleſs canals, which run through the whole region. It carried fertility into every field along with its ſalutary waters; the champaign country was delivered up to it; and the inhabitant rejoiced when he marked his fields diſappearing below the wave.

Sources of the Nile.

THE opinion of the antients concerning the ſources of this river, and the cauſes of its inundation, are no leſs various than extravagant. Homer has conjectured the truth, who tells us "that the Nile comes down from heaven." The periodical rains which fall in Ethiopia are the cauſe of this phenomenon. The winds, which in Egypt and Syria are alſo periodical, during the months of March, April, May, and June, blow from the north, and drive the clouds towards the high mountains, beyond the equator *. Stopped by this barrier, clouds accumulate

* Savary, letter viii.—The prieſts knew the origin of the Nile, and communicated the ſecret to ſome of the Grecian philoſophers. The heavy rains which fall in ſummer, ſays Euſtathius (in Odyſſ. iv.) ſwell the Nile, as Ariſtotle and Eudoxus affirm, who ſay they received this information from the Egyptian prieſts. They alſo knew that theſe rains were occaſioned by the north winds.—The rains of Abyſſinia are attributed to the Eteſian

accumulate on clouds, till they deſcend in rain, which falls in torrents and fills the vallies. The union of an innumerable multitude of rivulets forms the Nile, and produces the inundation. Taking its riſe in Ethiopia, this river divides into two branches, one of which, known by the name of Aſſerac, or the Blue River, joins the Niger, and, traverſing Africa from eaſt to weſt, falls into the Atlantic ocean. The other, running north, between two chains of mountains, and meeting with rocks of granite which impede its courſe, pours ſeven cataracts down into the plain, with a prodigious noiſe, that is heard at the diſtance of many miles. Arriving at the firſt city of Egypt, it falls into a gulf dug by the percuſſion of its own waters. Deſcending through this fine country, it fills the canals and lakes, overflows the lands, depoſits a fruitful ſlime, and diſcharges itſelf through ſeven mouths into the Mediterranean.

Annual inundation of the Nile.

THE increaſe of the Nile begins early in June, but is not much perceived till the ſummer ſolſtice, when the waters become troubled,

Eteſian winds, which drive the northern clouds thither. Pliny, lib. v, Pompon. Mela, lib. i. — Democritus had alſo divined the cauſe, vide Diodor. Sicul. lib. ii.

CHAP. I.

and of a reddiſh tincture. It continues increaſing till near the end of Auguſt. A niſometer at Elephantina formerly denoted to what degree the inundation would riſe. Travellers, antient and modern, deſcribe with rapture the proſpect which Egypt preſents at that ſeaſon of the year. Aſcending a mountain, or one of the largeſt pyramids in Grand Cairo, you behold the river overflowing the country around, the towns and villages appearing above, like iſlands in the midſt of the ocean: The whole interſperſed with gardens and groves, whoſe tops only are viſible. Mountains and woods terminate, at the utmoſt diſtance the eye can diſcover, this ſingular and fanciful ſcene.

Antiquity of Egypt.

THE Egyptian hiſtory is involved in darkneſs, and intermixed with fable. Not ſatisfied with their juſt claim to a high antiquity, the prieſts and philoſophers carried their pretenſions to an incredible extent, and traced back their chronology to ages without number. Like the oriental nations, they have filled up the unknown part of their annals agreeable to their imagination; they have ſupplied the want of true hiſtory with the marvellous, and under the ſhade of a dark antiquity have reared a ſplendid but viſionary fabric.

CHAP. I.

fabric. The prieſts of Thebes, as we are informed by Herodotus, aſſigned to their monarchy a duration of 11,340 years; others ſcrupled not to advance it to a hundred thouſand. Manetho, an Egyptian prieſt, who wrote about three centuries before the Chriſtian era, and whoſe authority appeared reſpectable to Joſephus, relates, that Egypt was at firſt governed by gods and demigods. Vulcan, the firſt of theſe reputed divine monarchs, reigned nine thouſand years. Thirty-one dynaſties of kings ſucceeded theſe divinities, and reigned in ſucceſſion over Egypt for the ſpace of 500,000 years. With regard to theſe extravagant pretenſions to antiquity, we may obſerve, that there is a point in the annals of all antient nations, where fable ends and hiſtory begins. Beyond a certain period, romance ſupplies the want of authentic information. Human nature is not the ſubject of record in theſe fanciful deſcriptions. Prodigies are related in the place of real events; we find ourſelves not on the ſolid ground of hiſtory, but in a fairy ſcene of fiction; and, inſtead of the tranſactions of men, we meet with the adventures of giants and demigods. This is the great criterion by which we diſ-

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tinguiſh the hiſtorical from the fabulous times.

REJECTING, therefore, theſe abſurd and incredible tales, Egypt preſents us with the ſame appearance which we meet with in the early annals of every country, a number of independent principalities, each governed by its head or ruler. The chief of theſe were Thebes, Thin, Memphis, and Tanis. Menes, who united theſe under one government, appears to have been the firſt king of Egypt. According to the moſt probable conjectures, he began his reign about 330 years after the deluge. The principalities of Egypt, now united under one head, began to figure as a powerful kingdom. Works of public utility were carried on; the marſhy grounds were drained; pits were dug to receive the waſte waters; Lower Egypt, formerly a moraſs, began to rival the Higher; and the firſt kingdom in the world aſſumed dignity and ſplendor. Sacred and civil hiſtory agree in confirming the high antiquity of monarchical government in Egypt. In the age of Abraham, about 400 years after the flood, while the plains of Perſia were paſtured by roaming ſhepherds, we find Egypt a well-regulated kingdom,

Menes, the firſt king of Egypt.

kingdom, flouriſhing in agriculture, and not only of ability to ſuffice its own inhabitants, but alſo to ſupply the neighbouring nations with corn. Inſtead of the ſimple chieftain of an independent tribe, we find a king of the common name of Pharaoh, ſurrounded by a train of princes, and living in the ſplendor and luxury of a court. When Joſeph was carried a captive to Egypt, the monarch was attended with guards and officers of ſtate, and circled with all that external pomp and magnificence which adorn the majeſty of ſovereigns in the moſt polite ages. We behold the kingdom divided into ſeveral departments: A council compoſed of perſons of the greateſt wiſdom and experience; miniſters of ſtate; different priſons for the confinement of criminals; a prieſthood enjoying ſettled revenues; public granaries; a trade in ſlaves; and a commerce with different nations.

FROM Menes, the firſt king in Egypt, to Seſoſtris, there occurs a vaſt interval, in which hiſtory is ſilent; a long tract of unknown time, marked only by two events, the invaſion of the ſhepherd kings, and the reign of Oſymandias. The royal ſhepherds were natives of Arabia, ſprung from thoſe warlike and roving tribes, who never ſettle in cities, but migrating

The ſhepherd kings.

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migrating with their flocks and herds, find their country always before them. These poured from the east in great numbers, and made themselves masters of Lower Egypt. Upper Egypt remained unconquered, and was governed by kings of its own. After the royal shepherds had reigned in the lower part of the country 259 years, they were compelled to retire from Egypt by Aonosis, a powerful monarch, who at that period ascended the throne.

THE precise era of Osymandias's reign is also unknown.

Reign of Osymandias.

HIS palace, and the other magnificent edifices which he reared, have been celebrated by Diodorus Siculus. He built the first library of the world, and placed this inscription on the front—"The remedies of the mind." His first occupations were military. He gained a complete victory over the Bactrians who had revolted; and after his achievements in war, applied to the works of peace. The magnificence of his reign appears from the inscription upon his statue—"I am Osymandyas, king of kings; he that would comprehend my grandeur, let him surpass me in my works."

THE Egyptians were never esteemed a warlike

like nation. Their country, ſurrounded almoſt every where by mountains or ſeas, defended them by a natural fortification from the approach of enemies. The abundant fertility of the land prevented, or rendered leſs frequent, thoſe roving expeditions for plunder, which we find among the antient people. Their army, as we are told by Herodotus, amounted, in the time of peace, to 41,000; but nothing, except actual war, will ever create warriors. Egypt cultivated the civil rather than the military virtues, and by the love of arts, not the ſplendour of arms, attracted the admiration of poſterity. Notwithſtanding, however, her pacific ſpirit, ſhe enjoyed an age of martial glory, and exhibited a conqueror, who vies for reputation with the moſt celebrated heroes of antiquity. CHAP. I.

Reign of Seſoſtris.

SESOSTRIS aſcended the throne 1650 years before the Chriſtian era. As the kingdom of Egypt was compoſed of different principalities, it had been ſhaken by ſeditions, and was ſubject to revolts. In order to employ theſe active ſpirits, and blend his people in one, Seſoſtris meditated a military expedition againſt all his neighbours, or what in thoſe days was called the conqueſt of the world. He took the neceſſary meaſures to aſſure ſucceſs to his

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arms. His firſt care was to regulate the ſtate of his troops, which had been neglected by his predeceſſors. The maxim of the Egyptians was to keep on foot a numerous army, or rather militia, divided into two bodies, the Celeſyrians and the Hermotybians. Their cuſtom was to diſtribute theſe troops into the different provinces of the empire. The ſoldiers had no pay, and were interdicted the exerciſe of any mechanic art; but, in requital, the ſtate had provided abundantly for their ſubſiſtence. They aſſigned to each ſoldier twelve aruras of land, exempted from all taxes: Theſe they let to farmers for a fixed rent. The profeſſion of a ſoldier was next in honour to the prieſthood. When we conſider the extent and population of Egypt, we may conclude, that the army fitted out by Seſoſtris was numerous and powerful; though, at the ſame time, hiſtorians have exaggerated beyond all bounds, when they inform us, that he aſſembled 600,000 foot, 24,000 horſe, and 27,000 armed chariots, beſides equipping a fleet of 400 ſail on the Red-ſea. Having put his army in motion, he marched to the ſouth, and invaded the Ethiopians, whom he defeated and rendered tributary. He paſſed thence into Aſia, and ſubdued the people as he

he advanced. Herodotus diſcovered in the Leſſer Aſia, from the one ſea to the other, monuments of his victories, with the proud inſcription of "Seſoſtris, king of kings, and lord of lords." It is impoſſible, however, preciſely to determine to what point this conqueror carried his arms in that part of the world. Herodotus limits his conqueſts, on one ſide, to the Aſiatic regions, ſituated along the Arabian gulf; and on the other, to the eaſtern provinces of that continent. With reſpect to Europe, hiſtorians agree, that Thrace was the boundary of his conqueſts.

Military art.

THE expedition of this monarch illuſtrates the method of making war in theſe times. The military art was then in its infancy. Armed chariots, as among all nations in the early periods of their hiſtory, formed the principal ſtrength of their armies. The rapidity with which Seſoſtris made his conqueſts, demonſtrate, that the people whom he attacked were ignorant of war. Neither cities nor fortreſſes retarded the progreſs of the conqueror. The name of the countries which he ſubdued, the infinite number of nations whom he conquered, and the ſhort ſpace in which he ran his career of victory, are ſufficient to demonſtrate, that the people he encountered were unwarlike

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unwarlike or undiſciplined; and that the reſiſtance which he met with, was not that of regular troops. Among uncivilized and barbarous tribes, an army has only to ſhew itſelf to overcome. The expeditions of the antient heroes, prove with what facility a conqueror in theſe times could over-run the world. This explains the manner in which ſuch a numerous army as that of Seſoſtris could ſubſiſt. The gaining of a battle opened an immenſe country to the conqueror. The cities, abandoned by the conquered people, ſupplied the victorious army with proviſions. Once, however, the Egyptian hoſt was in danger of periſhing. Finding it impoſſible to ſubſiſt in Thrace, they were obliged immediately to return. From this we may infer, that they found in that country a ſerious reſiſtance to their arms, which they had not elſewhere experienced. The Thracians are ranked among the moſt warlike nations of antiquity, and were not eaſily diſpoſed, like the feeble inhabitants of the ſouth, to receive the law of the conqueror.

The object of the antient heroes was to eſtabliſh their military fame, rather than to extend their dominions. Seſoſtris took no meaſures to preſerve and aſſure to his ſucceſ-

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ſors the vaſt territories which had ſubmitted to his ſword. Satisfied with victory, this monarch never meditated to ſecure his conqueſts: Thus they retained no ſolid conſequences. Their duration reſembled their rapidity; they were loſt as ſoon as acquired; the vaſt empire formed by Seſoſtris did not deſcend to his poſterity.

AFTER an expedition of nine years, he returned to Egypt loaded with ſpoils, and attended with a numerous train of captives. His exalted genius was not unemployed. He applied to the arts of peace, the ſame ardour he had expreſſed in the operations of war. He built magnificent monuments in the ſtyle of the Egyptians. A hundred temples to the tutelar gods of all the cities were the firſt fruits of his victories. He erected two obeliſks of marble, 120 feet in height, and covered them with inſcriptions, recording the magnitude of his power, the amount of his revenues, and the nations he had conquered. He opened a great number of canals along the Nile, and raiſed mounds, to which he removed the cities, that they might be protected from the inundations of the river. To provide againſt the incurſions of the Syrians and Arabians,

The obeliſks.

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Arabians, he fortified the eaſt ſide of Egypt with a wall, which run from Peluſium to Heliopolis, 187 miles in length. Theſe works changed, improved, and defended Egypt.

ANTIENT conquerors frequently led captive in their train great numbers of the people whom they ſubdued. Hiſtory informs us of whole nations tranſported from one country to another. Seſoſtris purſued this maxim, and recorded in the inſcriptions on his pillars,—that his great works were executed by the people he conquered, not by his own ſubjects.

IT is related of this prince, that he was drawn in his chariot by captive kings; what is more aſtoniſhing, this ungenerous vanity is extolled by Diodorous Siculus as one of the moſt ſhining actions of his life. After a glorious reign, he was ſeized with blindneſs, a diſeaſe common in Egypt. He refuſed to procraſtinate a miſerable life, and fell by his own hand.

MONARCHIES have often a brilliant period, and after a tranſient ſplendor ſink into obſcurity. From the reign of this king to that of Sefac, Egypt did not ſignalize itſelf by any remarkable enterprize: The ſpirit of martial glory was ſoon extinguiſhed. As the various provinces

provinces were now peaceably united under one head, they began to loſe their courage. The works which Seſoſtris had raiſed to guard and defend the country, rendered the inhabitants ſecure and careleſs. From this time the hiſtory of Egypt is a period of darkneſs, till the reign of Pſammetticus, 670 years before Chriſt. This prince opened his ports to ſtrangers, and the nation began to carry on a profitable traffic with the Greeks. CHAP. I.

Intercourſe of the Greeks with the Egyptians.

UNDER the reign, and by the order of Nechos his ſon, Phenician navigators ſailed round Africa. Apries, the ſon of Nechos, was dethroned by Amaſis, in whoſe reign the Greeks began to have more frequent intercourſe with Egypt. Solon and Pythagoras, followed by a train of ſages, left their native land to ſtudy the wiſdom of the Egyptians. The reign of Pſammetticus, the ſon of Amaſis, is the epocha of the ſubjection of this famous monarchy. Cambyſes, king of Perſia, the ſucceſſor of Cyrus, ſubdued it in the 525th year before the Chriſtian era. Egypt continued enſlaved, or tributary, to the Perſian power, till the throne of Cyrus was overturned by Alexander the Great.

Form of the Egyptian government.

MONARCHY had been eſtabliſhed in Egypt from time immemorial. The throne was hereditary,

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reditary, a proof of its high antiquity; but the power of the king was limited by the laws. The royal code, compoſed, as we are told, by one of the antient kings, made a part of the ſacred books. The public and private life of the monarch, his hours of pleaſure, as well as of buſineſs, were under the regulations of wiſdom. His court was to be compoſed of perſons the moſt renowned for their abilities and virtues. Rebuke was never addreſſed to the royal ear, but indirect warnings were given of the errors and vices into which ſovereigns might fall. Early in the morning, when he arrived in the temple, the high-prieſt diſcourſed on the duties of a ſovereign, painted in lively colours a bad king miſled by his evil counſellors, imprecated the vengeance of Heaven againſt thoſe that had led him aſtray, and beſought the gods to beſtow upon the prince all royal virtues, juſtice, magnanimity, and the love of his people. When the ſacrifice was ended, the ſacred books were opened; a portion of antient hiſtory was read, and thoſe actions of illuſtrious kings ſet in a fair light, which are moſt proper to inſpire virtue. Religion, which was all-powerful in Egypt, might render theſe inſtitutions effectual; and there never was a nobler triumph of religion,

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than in subjecting the lofty heart of a sovereign to the laws.

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THE custom of sitting in judgment upon monarchs after their death, is in the train of the institutions that I have mentioned, and shew that the kingdom of Egypt was very different from the empires of the east. On the day appointed for the royal funeral, a public audience was held, where all complaints and accusations were received against the deceased monarch. The priest began the solemnity by pronouncing his panegyric. If the king had reigned well, the multitudes who attended answered with loud acclamations; if he had reigned ill, a general murmur arose, accusers stood forth, and kings have been deprived of burial by the decision of their subjects.

Judgment on deceased monarchs.

THE judgment of the living upon the dead would be striking in every nation, but was calculated to make a particular impression in Egypt, from the prejudices of the people. The Egyptians believed that the soul hovered about the body till putrefaction took place: Hence they looked upon the rites of sepulchre every where so sacred, as connected with their future felicity; and they hoped, by the secret of embalming which they discovered, to survive for ages in the tomb.

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Thus the ſovereigns of Egypt were accountable to the tribunal of the people; and the very idea of ſuch a ſolemn trial was a ſtrong additional motive to make them diſcharge the duty of ſovereigns. The monarch who erected a pyramid as his future habitation, would be naturally induced to reſpect the rights of his ſubjects, that they might aſſign him a place in the pyramid which he had erected to perpetuate his future fame. The Jews, who borrowed largely from the Egyptians, adopted, in part, this practice. Wicked kings were not buried in the ſepulchre of their fathers. This cuſtom prevailed to the time of the Aſmonean princes.

Monarchy the government of Egypt.

FROM this deſcription of the Egyptian government, it appears, that it was not deſpotic; it was indeed truly monarchical, from the principle and form of its conſtitution; and it is the ſingle government of all antiquity which correſponds to our idea of monarchy. Limits were ſet to the royal power by the laws; the order of ſucceſſion was regulated; the king had not the right of judging or pronouncing ſentence in any civil cauſe; the adminiſtration of juſtice was confined to a particular body, whoſe credit could counterbalance all the authority of the Pharaohs. Thus,

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to uſe the language of Monteſquieu, the powers were divided. The judicial power was ſeparated from royalty. Thirty judges formed the auguſt tribunal, which decided concerning the lives and fortunes of the people. They had fixed revenues, and held their offices for life, which rendered them independent of the prince. Theſe judges took a ſolemn oath at their inſtallation, that they would diſobey the king, in caſe he ſhould order them to pronounce an unjuſt ſentence. Beſides this college of thirty, which reſided at Thebes, particular magiſtrates in the towns decided in certain cauſes. The monarch did not even tax his ſubjects without their conſent. The provinces ſent, from time to time, deputies, who met in the labyrinths to determine all affairs of ſtate. Their manner of adminiſtering juſtice had ſomething in it auguſt and ſacred, and gives us the idea of a grave but a juſt people. No advocate appeared at the tribunal. Eloquence was not permitted to dazzle and deceive. The whole proceſs was committed to writing. The preſident wore about his neck a figure without eyes, repreſenting truth: He touched with this emblem the head of the party, in whoſe favour the determination was made.

Manner of adminiſtering juſtice.

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Reſpect to the rights of the ſubject.

In conſequence of the limited monarchy that was eſtabliſhed in Egypt, we find a greater regard paid to the rights of the ſubject, than was known or imagined in the oriental empires. The two great objects of government, ſecurity to the property and the lives of the citizens, were maintained by the laws. We have already deſcribed the adminiſtration of juſtice. The perſon of the ſubject alſo was protected. A reverence was ſhewn to the natural rights of man. Human blood was reſpected. Pecuniary compenſations for murder, which mark a certain ſtage of ſociety between barbarity and refinement, were unknown in Egypt. The lives of all the ſubjects were equally ſecured. Murder was puniſhed with death, without reſpect of perſon or dignity: But a fair trial always preceded the ſentence. The ſummary deciſions of deſpotic government were unknown. The pannel was acquitted or condemned according to the laws.

The ſacred records, which, in every particular that regards Egypt, correſpond with the beſt information from claſſical antiquity, confirm theſe accounts. Joſeph, a Hebrew ſlave, is accuſed of having offered the moſt outrageous and provoking affront to his maſter, one of the greateſt lords in the court of Pha-

raoh. His lord did not doom him to inſtant death, as an eaſtern deſpot would have done: He ſent him to the common priſon, that he might be tried according to the laws. CHAP. I.

Power of the prieſts.

THIS peculiarity in the Egyptian government aroſe, I apprehend, from the following cauſe. It was a fundamental law in Egypt, that the royalty and the prieſthood were incompatible. The Egyptians were the moſt religious people that are recorded in hiſtory. The power of the prieſt is always in proportion to the influence of religion. In Egypt it was immenſe. Beſide the natural influence which the direction of the popular ſuperſtition gave them, they were further admitted to the office of civil magiſtrates; and by their application to letters and to ſcience, they were intruſted with the conſervation of the laws, the archives, and the public records; with the education of the youth, the compoſition of the calendar, the ſurvey of the lands, the menſuration of the Nile, and all that pertained to medicine and embalming the dead.

AND what effectually ſecured their authority and influence, the function was not in the gift of the monarch. The prieſthood, like other profeſſions in Egypt, was hereditary, and deſcended from father to ſon. By theſe

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means they were not only independent of the ſovereign, but a check to the royal authority. They held the balance between the king and the people. When there was a vacancy in the throne, the new king was to be choſen from among the prieſts or the ſoldiers. If the election was made from the army, the prince was to be initiated into the myſteries of the prieſthood before he was crowned.

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CHAP. II.

Of the Arts and Sciences cultivated by the EGYPTIANS.

CHAP. II.

Arts and Sciences.

THE arts and ſciences which aroſe in Egypt, contributed to the celebrity which this people enjoy. As they were the firſt civilized nation in the world, and had no examples to imitate, they are entitled to the praiſe of genius and invention. Their particular ſituation urged their application to ſome arts, and favoured the cultivation of others. Agriculture, the mother of the arts, originated in Egypt. The invention of the plough is aſcribed to Oſiris,

Agriculture.

Primus aratra manu ſolerti fecit Oſiris.

Corn grows ſpontaneouſly on the banks of the Nile. The ſoil is ſo light, that it is eaſily cultivated; and the firſt rude ploughs, though made of wood, were ſufficient for that purpoſe.

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THE land, enriched by the annual overflowing of the Nile, needed only the aſſiſtance of art to render it the moſt fertile part of the world. The warmth of the climate gives them two, and ſometimes three, crops in the year. The extraordinary fertility of Egypt was celebrated by the antients. Under the Roman emperors it was the granary of Italy. Under the Greek emperors, they drew from Alexandria all the corn which they conſumed at Conſtantinople. Forty-eight millions of Roman meaſures of corn were brought from Egypt to Rome in the time of Juſtinian. The bad policy of the Greeks deſtroyed the fruitfulneſs of Egypt. The government prohibited the exportation of corn: Agriculture of conſequence ſoon fell into decay, the banks and canals were neglected, and no other land was ſowed, ſave the fields bordering on the Nile. We need not be ſurpriſed, therefore, at the preſent barrenneſs of Egypt, in compariſon of its antient fertility. Want of cultivation hath turned a great part of it into a deſert.

WHEN the introduction of agriculture ſupplies the neceſſaries of life in abundance, men begin to cultivate the arts that originate from leiſure, and adminiſter to luxury. The myſterious art of working metals forms a remarkable

Art of working metals.

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era in the history of civilization. A little reflection will suffice to convince us, how awkward the operations of industry must be, and what a rude scene human life would soon exhibit, without the use of metals. The hand of man is the organ of his power, and metals are the weapon in his hand with which he extends his dominion. Nature completes the formation of some metals. Gold, silver, and copper, are found, in their perfect state, in the clefts of rocks, in the sides of mountains, or the channels of rivers. These accordingly were the metals first known, and first applied to use. Among the Egyptians, in the early period of their history; in Spain, when it was visited by the Carthaginians; in America, when it was discovered by the Spaniards; their arms, utensils, and tools, were made of gold, silver, and copper. But iron, the most useful of all metals, is concealed by nature: It is never discovered in its perfect form. The ore indeed is scattered over the earth, but it is difficult to distinguish it from stones or gravel of no value. It must twice undergo the force of fire, and pass through two laborious processes, before it becomes fit for use. Ages must have revolved in society, a series of accidents must have

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have taken place, a multitude of experiments been made and repeated, before this valuable diſcovery was known. From conſulting the records of hiſtory, and digging up the inſtruments of our forefathers, we learn, that mankind endeavoured to ſupply the want of this metal by flints, bones, and ſea-ſhells. What are called thunder-ſtones, have been found all over Europe, and are ſtill preſerved in the cabinets of the curious: They are made of a hard and almoſt impenetrable flint, and have the ſhape of axes, ploughſhares, hammers, and wedges. Such tools of ſtone were frequent over all the continent of America. We learn from Homer, that iron was very little uſed in the time of the Trojan war. Copper ſupplied its place: Arms and tools of every kind were made of this metal. A ſimilar uſage prevailed among the Romans for many ages. Hence religion, which is ever tenacious of antient cuſtoms, retained the uſe of braſs in all the ſacred ceremonies. Society can never make great advances without the uſe of iron. It is the inſtrument of univerſal induſtry; and without it, the genius of man muſt languiſh, and the arts be impeded in their career. Early in poſſeſſion of this diſcovery, the Egyptians were

were enabled to profecute inventions. Maſters of this art, they applied with advantage to other improvements. CHAP. II.

In the moſt remote periods of hiſtory, we find the arts of luxury and ornament flouriſhing in Egypt. Precious ſtuffs, embroidered garments, vaſes of gold and ſilver, gems, jewels, and all the apparatus of magnificence, announce a poliſhed and refined people.

A peculiar taſte for architecture has diſtinguiſhed them from every people of the world.

What hiſtory records of their buildings would ſurpaſs credibility, were it not atteſted by their monuments, which remain to this day. Egypt is a ſcene of antiquities; walking among ruins, the traveller forgets the preſent to contemplate the paſt, and, amid the traces of a degenerate race, marks the remains of a mighty nation. Their buildings are ſtill ſublime. Architecture.

The pyramids of Egypt have always ranked among the wonders of the world. Three of them ſtill remain, at the diſtance of ſome leagues from Grand Cairo, where Memphis formerly ſtood. The largeſt of the three, called the Great Pyramid, forms a ſquare, each ſide of whoſe baſe is 660 feet. The circumference is 2640 feet. The baſis covers eleven acres The pyramids.

of

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of ground. The perpendicular height is about 450 feet; if meaſured obliquely, 700. The ſummit, which viewed from below appears a point, was a platform, each ſide of which was 18 feet long. The ſtones with which this enormous edifice was built were 30 feet in length. A hundred thouſand workmen were conſtantly employed in carrying on this amazing ſtructure. Thirty years were ſpent in erecting this immenſe fabric. The ſum expended for food to the workmen amounted to 1600 talents, which, comparing the value of money in thoſe days with what it is at preſent, amounts to more than two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

THE original deſtination of theſe moſt antient monuments of human ingenuity, and which are likely to laſt coeval with the works of nature, according to the teſtimony of all antiquity, was to contain the embalmed bodies of the firſt monarchs of Egypt. The obſervation of Strabo *, that towards the middle of the height of one of the ſides, by raiſing a ſtone, an oblique paſſage is opened, which leads to the coffin of a king, in the centre of the pyramid, forms a ſtriking proof of the antient belief on this ſubject, and is confirmed by every obſervation which has been made on

* Lib. xvii.

theſe

theſe ſtupendous ſtructures. The Egyptians not only believed in the immortality of the ſoul, but alſo in the re-animation of the body, after a long period of years: Hence their extraordinary attention to embalm and preſerve the uncorrupted bodies of their departed heroes and deceaſed friends.

THESE majeſtic monuments deſcend from an unknown antiquity. Herodotus, who wrote 2000 years ago, ſpeaks with as much uncertainty about the time when they were conſtructed as we do at preſent.

OTHER proofs remain of their very high antiquity. While all the remarkable edifices in Egypt are covered with hieroglyphical inſcriptions, no traces of that Egyptian mode of writing appears on the pyramids, becauſe they were erected before hieroglyphical writing was cultivated. A ſtronger proof of their age ſtill remains. The general idea of Egyptian architecture was intirely taken from the pyramids; which nothing but their high veneration for them, increaſed by their remote antiquity, could poſſibly have occaſioned; ſince the figure of theſe fabrics, ſo well adapted to triumph over time, is inconvenient for habitable ſtructures, whether public or private. Yet we find, from the antient ruins of the Higher Egypt,

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Egypt, that all the buildings, without exception, were raiſed on the model of the pyramids. We are ſurpriſed to find not only their ports, their doors, but even the walls of their temples and of their towns, inclining to this form *.

The labyrinth.

THE labyrinth was, if poſſible, more aſtoniſhing than the pyramids. The ſame circuit of walls incloſed 3000 apartments, twelve of which were of a particular form and beauty. They communicated with each other by ſo many turns and windings, that without a guide the traveller was loſt. One half of the chambers was under-ground: The labyrinth terminated in a pyramid forty fathoms high.

The obeliſks.

THE obeliſks are in the ſame grand ſtile, but of a ſingular compoſition. The firſt models were erected by Seſoſtris, as monuments of his victories: They conſiſted of one piece of granite, and were 180 feet high. The Romans, in the era of their grandeur, tranſported ſome of theſe monuments to their city; two of them ſtill remain, and, for their antiquity and grandeur, rank among the greateſt curioſities in Rome.

WORKS of a ſimilar form, or in the ſame

* Norden.

ſtile

ſtile with the pyramids of Egypt, were found at Babylon, and in ſeveral parts of the eaſt.

THE fine arts are imitative: The great original is nature. In the early periods of ſociety, before the earth is cultivated and improved by the human hand, the works of nature ſtrike by their greatneſs, rather than pleaſe by their beauty: Hence an incorrect idea of grandeur prevails in the firſt compoſitions of all nations of whatever kind. Aiming at the vaſt and the gigantic, they ſtudy to fill the eye, rather than to pleaſe it.

Sculpture and painting.

SCULPTURE and painting originated among the Egyptians, but made very inconſiderable progreſs. Neither genius nor taſte appear in their works of this kind. They are equally awkward and incorrect: They knew not how to deſign ſimple figures, nor to group their compoſitions.

THEY formed their ſtatues by the rules of mathematics, rather than on the principles of taſte. The Egyptian ſculptors, according to Diodorus, were accuſtomed to work a ſtatue by ſeparate pieces. They began by making a model of clay. They cut this model into ſeveral pieces; every artiſt took away the part that was allotted to him, and worked after

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after that pattern. This was reducing a fine art to mere mechanical labour.

THEIR paintings were as imperfect as their ſculptures. Their pictures are flat and mean, without any riſe, or oppoſition of colours. A heavineſs, monotony, and incorrectneſs, prevail through the whole. Their hieroglyphics contributed to ſpoil their taſte in painting. By drawing human heads upon the trunks of animals, and the heads of animals upon human bodies, they diſcompounded being, and multiplied monſters. Hence Apuleius and Ammianus Marcellinus, talking of theſe figures, call them "animals of another world." In the time of the Ptolemies Egypt was adorned with elegant buildings, with fine ſtatues and beautiful pictures; but theſe were executed by Grecian artiſts.

IN one particular the Egyptian painters excelled; a certain preparation they made uſe of for fixing colours upon marble, and other ſmooth bodies. Travellers aſſure us that in many edifices, half in ruins, there are ſtill paintings to be ſeen, whoſe gloſs and colouring are ſo lively, ſo freſh, and ſo bright, that it ſeems, ſay the inhabitants of the country, as if the artiſt had not yet waſhed his hands after his work.

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THE invention of alphabetical letters, and the art of writing, is generally attributed by the antients to the Egyptians. This wonderful art, by which words and thoughts have been painted, by which the inventions and exploits of antiquity have been perpetuated and preſerved, and by which the archives of hiſtory, and the diſcoveries of philoſophy, may be communicated to all ages, refers its origin to the Egyptian prieſts. This nobleſt and moſt beneficial invention, of which human ingenuity can boaſt, and which has contributed ſo much to the improvement of the ſpecies, was imperfect in its origin, and advanced to perfection ſlowly, and by a gradual progreſſion. Picture-writing, or a rude repreſentation of external objects, was the firſt ſtep in this progreſs. This mode of recording events prevailed among the antient nations in the infancy of ſociety; and was known to the natives of America when it was diſcovered. Such awkward delineations repreſent things, not words; they exhibit images to the eye, not ideas to the underſtanding: They may therefore be conſidered as the earlieſt and moſt imperfect eſſay of men in their progreſs towards diſcovering the art of writing. The defects in this mode of recording tranſactions muſt

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must have been ſoon felt. To paint every occurrence was from its nature a very tedious operation, and as affairs became more complicated, and events multiplied in ſociety, its annals muſt have ſwelled to an enormous bulk. Beſides this, no objects could be delineated but thoſe of ſenſe; the conceptions of the mind had no corporeal form, and as picture-writing could not convey an idea of theſe, it was a very imperfect art. The neceſſity of improving it rouſed and ſharpened invention, and by ſucceſſive ſteps the human genius advanced, firſt, from the actual picture to the plain hieroglyphic, next to the allegorical ſymbol, then to the arbitrary character; until at length an alphabet of letters was diſcovered, capable of expreſſing all the variety of combinations of ſound employed in ſpeech. Nothing is more ſimple in appearance, or more profound in reality, than this laſt invention. A ſmall number of characters, repreſenting every articulate ſound of the human voice, ſerves to expreſs all the thoughts, emotions, and paſſions of men, and contains diſtinctly, in a ſmall ſpace, what could not be done by an infinite number of hieroglyphics, but with obſcurity and confuſion. The date of this diſcovery is unknown, but aſcends to a high antiquity.

One

One parent alphabet ſuggeſted the idea of all the reſt. The Roman letters, uſed by the modern European nations, were taken from the Greek; the Greek from the Phenicians, whoſe characters are the ſame with thoſe of the Aſſyrians: All originated from the Egyptians, the form of whoſe letters is evidently taken from their hieroglyphics. After the invention of an alphabet, hieroglyphics became a ſacred language among the Egyptians, and were employed by the prieſts, to conceal the principles of their philoſophy, and their diſcoveries, from the view of the vulgar.

Sciences.

EGYPT was the mother of the ſciences as well as the arts. An order of men like the prieſts, devoted to ſtudy and contemplation, had a favourable opportunity to make diſcoveries, and to inveſtigate truth. There were four colleges in Egypt, where ſcience was ſtudied and taught: Thebes, which Pythagoras viſited; Memphis, where Thales and Democritus conſulted the Egyptian prieſts; Heliopolis, where Plato ſtudied; and Sais, where Solon was inſtructed in the principles of legiſlation and government.

Aſtronomy.

THE firſt important diſcoveries in aſtronomy were made by the Egyptians. As they were the firſt people of antiquity who lived

by cultivating the ground, they were under a neceſſity of ſtudying the motions of the ſtars. The whole buſineſs of agriculture depends upon a knowledge of the ſeaſons, and the courſe of the ſun. In antient times, men had no means of diſcovering the ſeaſons of tillage and culture, but by the riſing and ſetting of particular ſtars. The lights of heaven, according to Moſes, were for ſigns to them, for ſeaſons, for days, and for years. The knowledge of theſe celeſtial ſigns, though little attended to at preſent, was abſolutely neceſſary in the antient world, when the huſbandman had no other guide to direct his labours than his own obſervations. Thus Arcturus, Orion, and the Pleiades, marked out the ſeveral ſeaſons among the early Greeks *, and the riſing of Syrius with the ſun, announced to the Egyptians the overflowing of the Nile, and the cuſtomary time of ſowing their grain, which was immediately after its retreat.

FROM the poets and hiſtorians of early periods it appears, that the greateſt and moſt poliſhed nations had, for a long time, no other calendar than what was furniſhed by a

* Heſiod, lib. ii.

few ſimple obſervations on the riſing and ſetting of certain ſtars. CHAP. II.

THE climate of Egypt is favourable to the ſtudy of this ſcience. Night diſcloſes a thouſand charms, which the inhabitant of a northern region ſeldom beholds. Through a tranſparent veil, which only half conceals the objects in nature, the ſpectator contemplates the azure of a ſerene ſky, and an infinite number of ſtars which beſpangle the firmament. They have a more brilliant light, and appear larger than in temperate climates. Thick darkneſs never covers the atmoſphere: The blaſt of tempeſts never diſturbs its tranquillity. Deluges of rain do not render it the image of chaos. The wind falls uſually with the ſun. Nature remains in a perfect calm. It is then that the aſtronomer who views the heavens, enjoying the ſight of a firmament without clouds, can follow the motion of the ſtars throughout the immenſity of ſpace.

ACCORDINGLY, the Egyptians applied early to this ſtudy. We are informed by Diodorus, that the Thebans had kept regiſters of their aſtronomical obſervations for an aſtoniſhing length of time.

THEIR obeliſks were gnomons for aſtronomical purpoſes, and the ſides of the great py-

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ramid correſpond exactly to the four cardinal points. They were the firſt people of antiquity who adjuſted the length of the year to the annual revolution of the ſun, and determined it to conſiſt of 365 days, and ſix hours. From them the Greeks, and other nations, learned the true duration of the ſolar year. They ſeem to have attained a true notion of the ſyſtem of nature; for they called the moon an ethereal earth, affirmed the ſtars to be fire, and placed the ſun immovable in the centre of the world, round whom the inferior planets revolved. This ſyſtem Pythagoras is ſaid to have introduced into Greece, and communicated to his diſciples. This, however, ſeems rather to have been a happy conjecture, than the genuine offspring of obſervation and of reaſoning. Perhaps the adoration which the Egyptians paid to the ſun, led them to place him at reſt in the centre of the ſyſtem, as the ſtation of dignity, while the planets moved round him in obedient orbits. Diſcoveries which are the conſequence of experience or obſervation, will be continued and ſupported from the ſame cauſes which produced them: But conjectures, unſupported by proof or reaſoning, however ingenious or juſt, will ſoon be forgotten. Ptolemy, the reformer

former of the calendar, who joined the learning of the Greeks to that of the Egyptians, seems to have been intirely unacquainted with this important discovery. CHAP. II.

Geometry and mathematics.

GEOMETRY and mathematics were cultivated by the Egyptians with considerable success. All authors agree, that geometry was first found out in Egypt; necessity having forced the inhabitants to survey with accuracy, and to measure their lands, the bounries of which were annually disturbed by the overflowing of the Nile. The grand works which they conceived and executed, the accurate division of their territory, the distribution of the waters of the Nile by an infinite number of canals, the exact measurement of the bed of the river, the fabrication of many different machines for the purposes of architecture, above all, the computation of time, and the calculation of the revolution of the heavenly bodies, are proofs of the progress which they made in these studies. The Greeks were indebted to them for their first discoveries in these sciences. Thales and Pythagoras, as we are informed by Herodotus, did little more than deliver the doctrines which they had learned from the priests of Egypt.

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To ſum up their character: Without having attained to elegance in the arts, or perfection in the ſciences, the Egyptians ſtruck out the models on which other nations improved; and philoſophy owes them that reſpect which an empire pays to its founders.

Religion.

AMONG nations who are not bleſſed by divine revelation, the luminaries of heaven are the firſt objects of worſhip. Diodorus Siculus, mentioning the Egyptians, informs us *, "that the firſt men, looking up to the world above them, and ſtruck with admiration at the nature of the univerſe, ſuppoſed the ſun and moon to be the principal and eternal gods." This, which may be called the natural ſuperſtition of mankind, we can trace in the annals of the weſt, as well as of the eaſt; among the inhabitants of the new world, as well as of the old. The ſun and moon, under the names of Iſis and Oſiris, were the chief objects of adoration among the Egyptians. An order of men, like the prieſts of Egypt, who were devoted to ſcience, and ſtudied the phenomena of nature, diſcovered, in the progreſs of time, that theſe were the

* Lib. i.

nobleſt

noblest productions and most powerful agents of the Divine Power, and began to recognize a supreme being, who created the heavens, and presides over the universe. The following inscription, engraved in hieroglyphics in the temple of Neith, the Egyptian Minerva, conveys the most sublime idea of the Deity which unenlightened reason could form: "I AM THAT WHICH IS, WAS, AND SHALL BE; NO MORTAL HATH LIFTED UP MY VEIL; THE OFFSPRING OF MY POWER IS THE SUN." A similar inscription still remains at Capua, on the temple of Isis—"THOU ART ONE, AND FROM THEE ALL THINGS PROCEED." Plutarch * also informs us, that the inhabitants of Thebais worshipped only the immortal and supreme God, whom they called Eneph. According to their cosmogony all things sprung from athor, or night, by which they denoted the darkness of chaos before the creation. Sanchoniathon relates, that "from the breath of Gods † and the void ‡ were mortals created." This theology differs little from that of Moses, who says, "the earth was without form, and void, darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

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* De Osid. and Osir. † Kolpea. ‡ Baaon.

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THESE ſublime doctrines of their theology the Egyptians concealed in their temples, and taught only to the initiated in the greater myſteries, which Orpheus introduced into Greece, and which were afterwards eſtabliſhed at Rome. Eſteeming them too ſublime for vulgar conception, they favoured the propenſity of the nation to ſuperſtition, and erected their own importance on the ignorance and credulity of the people. As religion was the great engine of government in Egypt, popular ſuperſtition was reduced to a regular ſyſtem; myſtery was affected; ſymbol and allegory were introduced; and ſuch a long train of ceremonies, proceſſions, feſtivals, and ſhews eſtabliſhed, as diſtinguiſhes them from other nations.

Animal worſhip.

A SUPERSTITIOUS reverence for certain animals, as propitious or diſaſtrous to the human race, was not peculiar to the Egyptians. The cow has been venerated in India from the moſt remote antiquity. The ſerpent has been the object of religious reſpect to one half of the nations of the known world. The Romans had ſacred animals, which they kept in their temples, and diſtinguiſhed with peculiar honours. We need not therefore be ſurpriſed, that a nation ſo ſuperſtitious as the

Egyptians, ſhould honour with peculiar marks of reſpect the ichneumon, the ibis, the dog, the falcon, the wolf, and the crocodile. Theſe they entertained at great expence, and with much magnificence. Lands were ſet apart for their maintenance; perſons of the higheſt rank were employed in feeding and attending them; rich carpets were ſpread in their apartments; and the pomp at their funerals correſponded to the profuſion and luxury which attended them while alive.

What chiefly tended to favour the progreſs of animal-worſhip in Egypt, was the language of hieroglyphics, which prevails in every country before the invention of letters. In the hieroglyphic inſcriptions on their temples and public edifices, animals, and even vegetables, were the ſymbols of the gods whom they worſhipped.

Accustomed to behold allegorical and ſymbolical figures in the ſanctuary, the people forgot the inviſible object of adoration in the emblem by which it was expreſſed, and ſunk into that ſuperſtition which was ſo congenial to their groſs conceptions. The Greeks and Romans annexed a kind of ſanctity to the images of their gods, and the people even adored them; but while the multitude proſtrated themſelves

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themſelves before the idol, the wiſe adored the divinity.

In the midſt of innumerable ſuperſtitions, the theology of Egypt contained the two great principles of religion, the exiſtence of a ſupreme being, and the immortality of the ſoul. The firſt is proved by the inſcription on the temple of Minerva; the ſecond by the care with which dead bodies were embalmed, and the prayer recited at the hour of death, by an Egyptian, expreſſing his deſire to be received to the preſence of the deities.

As Egypt was the ſeat of legiſlative wiſdom, and gave birth to law as well as to the arts, it will be requiſite to mention ſome of their laws. Civil law ſhews us the ſtate of property among a people, and their manner of life. As the Egyptians were a buſy and commercial nation, "every inhabitant was obliged to give in his name and profeſſion to the governor of the province where he lived. If he gave in a wrong information, or procured his livelihood in an unlawful way, he was puniſhed with death." Solon introduced a ſimilar law among the Athenians. The ſubject of debts, in many of the antient ſtates, was a ſource of perpetual troubles and commotion. In Egypt every citizen was conſidered

ſidered as belonging to the ſtate, and of conſequence the goods of the debtor, not his perſon, were anſwerable for the debt. Aſychis made an effectual law to give ſecurity to trade. A man might borrow on the pledge of his father's dead body, which was to be put into the hands of the creditor; and if he did not redeem it, he himſelf was to be deprived of the honours of ſepulture; the greateſt ignominy which could befall an Egyptian.

Criminal law.

CRIMINAL law is founded on two original principles in human nature; the reſentment of the ſufferer, when an injury is inflicted; and the feelings of men, when a man is injured. Nature hath conſtituted man the guardian of his own rights, and the avenger of his own wrongs. Revenge is a ſtrong principle of human nature: It is inſtinctive. Men repel harm from immediate impulſe, and wreak their reſentment upon inanimate objects that hurt them. It is the guardian of ſociety, and the preventative of injury and crimes. The object of reſentment is retaliation; is to inflict on the offending perſon the evil that he hath committed. Accordingly, retaliation forms the criminal code of all early nations, and continues in ſome degree through

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through every period of ſociety. Murder is always puniſhed with death. The voice of nature is, eye for eye, tooth for tooth: He that ſheddeth man's blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed. We find the criminal law of Egypt, either founded on this principle, or alluding to it. Murder was puniſhed with death, whether the perſon ſlain had been free or a ſlave. A calumniator was condemned to the ſame puniſhment; the perſon would have ſuffered, if the accuſation had proved true. The power of life and death, which the father in barbarous ages exerciſes over his family, which always prevailed among the eaſtern nations, and long among the Romans, was early checked in the regular form of government eſtabliſhed among the Egyptians. The authority of a maſter over his ſlaves, and the uſe of torture in their trial, which was only aboliſhed at Rome under the reign of Adrian, never ſeems to have prevailed in Egypt.

Laws are the ſtandard of a people, with regard to barbarity or refinement. Theſe laws of the Egyptians give us a high idea of their civilization.

Cauſes of the early civilization of Egypt.

The earlieſt population is on the banks of rivers. The beauty and fertility of Egypt would attract inhabitants to the margin of the Nile.

Nile. The diſaſters which they ſuffered by the overflowing of the river, would lead them to ſtudy the means of guarding againſt ſuch inundations in the time to come. The additional fruitfulneſs, which the land acquired by being thus watered by the Nile, would ſtill allure them; and neceſſity, the great prompter of mankind, would ſuggeſt the means of remedying the evil. While the barbarous tribes in their neighbourhood wandered from region to region, in queſt of new paſtures and more fruitful fields, the inhabitants of Egypt had no occaſion to remove from a country, whoſe fertility was renewed by the annual overflowing of the Nile, and would feel an additional attachment to a ſcene, which was in a great meaſure the work of their own hands. When the principle of improvement is once ſet a-going, ſociety begins its progreſs.

If we look over the world, we ſhall find that the arts have ariſen in ſimilar ſituations. A ſcene where the favours of nature are to be purchaſed by ingenuity and induſtry calls forth invention; difficulties heighten the ardour of the purſuit; and obſtacles in the way encourage the active and improvable nature of man.

The fineſt and moſt flouriſhing provinces in China were gained from the ſea. Venice, riſing

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rising from a marshy lake, was the first great maritime power of modern Europe. The barren territory of Attica bloomed with every art, and with every science; while the fertile banks of the Eurotas were inhabited by unlettered barbarians.

2. The Egyptians early applied to agriculture, which, by introducing the complete idea of property, lays the foundation of law. The most nutritious vegetables flourish on the banks of the Nile, the light soil is easily cultivated, and the warm climate gives them two, and sometimes three, crops in the year. When man, ceasing to roam, becomes an inhabitant of the soil, and a possessor of land, laws and regulations become necessary to transmit possessions, and dispose of inheritances. This gave rise to established rights, to jurisprudence, and to the civil code. It is the plough that hath civilized mankind. When the antients gave Ceres the title of legislatress, and called a festival celebrated in her honour by the name of Thesmophoria, they gave the people to understand, that agriculture, by establishing property, laid the foundation of law. From law arises security; from security, leisure; from leisure, curiosity; from curiosity, the arts and sciences.

3. Egypt

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3. EGYPT at an early period was crossed by canals, which connecting the cities with one another, favoured the cultivation of manufactures and arts. Upper Egypt extends no where to a great distance from the Nile. In Lower Egypt the river breaks itself into many different canals, which, assisted by art, opened a communication by water-carriage, not only with great towns, but with villages, as in Holland at this day. By the extent and facility of inland navigation, the whole country was connected, and additional motives suggested to industry and improvement.

FROM these causes Egypt, though not the first inhabited, was certainly the first civilized country of the world.

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CHAP. III.

The ASSYRIAN *or* BABYLONIAN *Empire.*

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Boundaries of Aſſyria.

THE boundaries of Aſſyria, according to the deſcription of the Greek and Roman writers, comprehended all the countries and nations between the Mediterranean on the weſt, and the river Indus on the eaſt, and between the deſerts of Scythia on the north, and the ſouthern or Indian ocean. This empire having once extended over ſo large a portion of Aſia, the provinces under its dominion came to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Sovereign State, and retained the appellation long after the diſſolution of that great monarchy. Thus Meſopotamia was called Middle Aſſyria; the ſame name was alſo given to Babylon and Chaldea; and, according to Juſtin *, the country of Syria was firſt called Aſſyria.

ASSYRIA Proper, which gave name to the other provinces, was bounded on the north

* Lib. i. cap. ii.

by

by part of Armenia and mount Niphates, on the weſt by the Tigris, on the ſouth by Suſianah, and on the eaſt by Media. In the province of Adiabene, and on the banks of the Tigris, ſtood the celebrated city of Ninus, or Nineveh. Its dimenſions, according to Strabo, exceeded thoſe of Babylon; and we are informed by Diodorus Siculus, that it was forty-ſeven miles in circumference, and ſurrounded by lofty walls and towers, the former a hundred feet in height, the latter two hundred. As this country lies between 33 and 39 degrees of north latitude, in its flouriſhing periods it was remarkable for its fertility, and produced the fruits of the earth in abundant profuſion: But ſince the fall of its empire, having become frequently the ſeat of war, it is now almoſt a wilderneſs, except ſome ſpots of cultivation around its few and inconſiderable towns.

Chaldea deſcribed.

BABYLONIA or Chaldea lies between thirty and thirty-five degrees of north latitude, and was bounded on the north by Meſopotamia, on the eaſt by the Tigris, on the weſt by the deſert of Arabia, and on the ſouth by the Perſian gulf, and part of Arabia the Happy. This country enjoys a ſalutary atmoſphere, though extremely noxious at certain ſeaſons

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of the year. Rain ſeldom falls in this climate, and the earth was watered by the river, which was here diffuſed by human induſtry, as the Nile was over Egypt by nature. All the country of Babylon was interſected by canals, the greateſt of which was navigable, and flowed from ſouth to north, from the Euphrates to the Tigris. The engines and wheels which they employed to water their lands were ſo numerous on the banks of the Euphrates, as ſometimes to impede the navigation of the river *. The richneſs of the ſoil, and the excellence of the climate, were improved by the induſtry of the inhabitants; ſo that Herodotus compares this country to Egypt for its fertility. Being irriguous, and for the moſt part low and flat, it abounded with aquatic ſhrubs, and was called the Valley of Willows. The vine, the olive, and the fig-tree, did not flouriſh here; but palms ſprung ſpontaneouſly, chiefly thoſe of the date kind, which ſupplied the inhabitants with food, wine, and honey. For luxuriancy of grain this country is celebrated by Herodotus †. The millet and the ſeſame ſhot up to the ſize of trees; the leaves of the wheat

* Plut. Sympoſ. lib. iii. † Lib. i.

and

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and the barley were uſually four fingers broad; and in the language of antiquity, the earth yielded a hundred, and ſometimes three hundred fold. Under the Perſian empire the country of Babylon yielded a third part of the produce of Aſia. This fertility was partly owing to the annual inundations of the Tigris and the Euphrates, which took place in the months of June, July, and Auguſt, by the melting of the ſnow on the Armenian mountains. Canals were cut through all the country, by which the waters were diſtributed, the ſoil enriched, and an eaſy communication effected between diſtant cities. The river Euphrates, from which many channels were cut in the plain of Babylon, has its ſource in the mountains of Armenia, and, after waſhing the eaſtern ſkirts of Syria, and dividing Arabia from Meſopotamia, it proceeds to the ſouth eaſt, and mixing its waters with the Tigris, falls at length into the Perſian gulf. This country is ſuppoſed, by the moſt rational and learned divines, to have incloſed the garden of Eden within it boundaries.

BABEL is the firſt city we find mentioned in ſcripture, and in point of antiquity was prior to that of Nineveh. Theſe two cities were the capitals of two petty kingdoms, and

Riſe of the Aſſyrian empire, ante Ch. 2059.

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continued ſeparate 440 years, governed by diſtinct monarchs, till Ninus conquered the kingdom of Babylon, and laid the foundation of that formidable power which governed Aſia for ſo many ages. This event, which united the two monarchies into one ſtate, under the name of the Aſſyrian empire, happened about 290 years after the flood, 2059 before the Chriſtian era.

Conqueſts of Ninus.

HAVING ſubdued the Babylonians, Ninus began to extend his conqueſts, ſubjected many of the neighbouring ſtates to his power, and, by uniting kingdom to kingdom, enlarged the boundaries of the Aſſyrian empire. Marching from conqueſt to conqueſt, he ſubdued Media, Perſia, Armenia, and in ſeventeen years annexed to his dominions the weſtern kingdoms of Aſia. Having turned his arms againſt Oxyartes, monarch of Bactria, he met with a more vigorous reſiſtance than he had before experienced. After many fruitleſs attempts to reduce the capital of Bactria, he at laſt made himſelf maſter of the place, by the contrivance and conduct of Semiramis, wife of Menon, a captain in his army. The ſpirit and bravery of this heroine charmed the victorious monarch; and with the conſent of her huſband, he made her the partner of his throne

throne and of his bed *. On his return to Nineveh, his queen bore him a ſon, to whom he gave the name of Ninyas; and dying ſoon after, committed the infant prince to the guardianſhip of Semiramis, whom he appointed regent of the empire. CHAP. III.

Reign of Semiramis, A. ante C. 2007.

THIS maſculine and ambitious princeſs followed the footſteps of her huſband, and endeavoured to ſignalize her reign by illuſtrious actions and achievements. She removed her court from Nineveh to Babylon, which ſhe ſurrounded with a wall, and embelliſhed with magnificent ſtructures. Having added ſplendor to the ſeat of her empire, and confirmed her authority over the neighbouring kingdoms, ſhe raiſed a numerous army, and attempted the conqueſt of India. But here ſhe experienced the powerful reſiſtance which was made to Ninus; and after an unſucceſsful war, was obliged to return to Babylon with a ſmall remainder of her forces. Cteſias, Diodorus Siculus, and Trogus Pompeius (abridged by Juſtin) have exaggerated the forces, and embelliſhed the exploits, of Ninus and Semiramis; but the exiſtence and ſplendor of the firſt Aſſyrian empire are confirmed

* Diod. Sic. lib. ii. Juſtin, lib. i.

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both by ſacred and profane hiſtory: Arrian, Athenæus, Strabo, Suidas, Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, and every judicious enquirer into antiquity, refer to the events and tranſactions of this celebrated monarchy. Plato expreſſed the prevailing opinion of his age, when he affirms, that the kingdom of Troy, during the reign of Priam, was a dependency of the Aſſyrian empire *.

Ninyas aſcends the throne, A. Ch. 1965.

NINYAS aſcended the throne of Aſſyria after the death of Semiramis. As the force of the empire was exhauſted by the ambitious plans and military expeditions of his predeceſſors, he conſulted the tranquillity of his ſubjects, and applied to the arts of peace. He is repreſented by hiſtorians as a feeble and effeminate prince, who ſequeſtered himſelf from the eyes of his ſubjects, and paſſed his days in indolence among eunuchs and women. But it is probable that theſe accounts have originated from a diſpoſition in authors to celebrate a turbulent and warlike reign, if crowned with conqueſts, and to overlook the merits of an adminiſtration employed in the ſilent, but happier arts of peace. But although he did not engage in foreign wars,

* Plato de Legib. lib. iii.

nor

nor endeavour to enlarge the boundaries of his empire, he took proper precautions to regulate, by wife inſtitutions, the extenſive dominions which he inherited from his parents. He eſtabliſhed an army in the capital, which was annually relieved by forces raiſed from other parts of the empire. He committed the government of the provinces to perſons of experienced wiſdom and tried fidelity, to prevent revolts in diſtant countries, and preſerve the public tranquillity. He is ſaid to have affected the ſequeſtered ſtate of diſtant majeſty, which ſucceeding emperors of the eaſt were ambitious to imitate; and became of difficult acceſs, in order to increaſe the veneration of his ſubjects. He ſeems, however, to have ſtrengthened the throne of Ninus, and after a peaceable reign to have tranſmitted his empire to his ſucceſſors, ſo wiſely regulated, as to laſt, in a line of kings of unknown or obſcure fame, for more than eight hundred years.

A blank in the Aſſyrian hiſtory.

FROM Ninus, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Semiramis, to that of Sardanapalus, we find an aſtoniſhing blank in the hiſtory of Aſſyria and Babylon. Tables of the kings who ſwayed the ſceptre during that period are given by

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hiſtorians *; but the records of their reigns are loſt; nothing appears in detail; the annals of Aſſyria are torn from the volumes of hiſtory.

THE obſcurity of this period is commonly attributed to the indolence and effeminacy which the antient Aſſyrian monarchs adopted from Ninyas; but perhaps this ſilence of hiſtorical records is leſs to be aſcribed to the inactivity of theſe princes, than to the tranquillity which the people enjoyed under their government. The virtues of a pacific reign are not ſo ſtriking and ſplendid as the fame of military talents, and the glory of conqueſts. The hiſtory of this antient empire is tranſmitted to us by the Greeks, a reſtleſs and turbulent people, engaged in perpetual commotions, who eſteemed nations only as they were warlike, and who imagined that victories and important revolutions were the only events worthy of being recorded. Lovers of the marvellous, and diſpoſed rather to captivate the imagination than to enlighten the underſtanding, they deſiderated in the Aſſyrian annals thoſe ſhining incidents and illuſtrious achievements which ſtrike the imagination

* Euſeb. Chron. lib. ii. Syncell, p. 103, 108, &c.

and

and fix the attention of the public; prejudiced too in favour of the Egyptians, their preceptors in the arts and sciences, they wished to confine their knowledge of antiquity to this celebrated people.

We ought not, therefore, to imagine that the successors to the throne of Ninyas were addicted to the vices of indolence and effeminacy. All the antient historians acknowledge, that no empire boasted of such a long duration and uninterrupted prosperity as that of the Assyrians. During the course of ages no revolution took place: A pacific and happy people escaped the records and the crimination of history.

Fall of the Assyrian empire, Ante Ch. 840.

The Assyrians, after having held the empire of Asia for many ages, began to decline. During the feeble and voluptuous reign of Sardanapalus the Medes revolted, and their example was followed by other nations. Three kingdoms arose from the ruins of this great empire; the monarchy of the Medes, founded by Arbaces, who had conspired against the last Assyrian king; that of Babylon, seized by Belesus, who had joined in the conspiracy; and that of Nineveh, called the second empire of the Assyrians, whose first king took the name of Ninus the younger.

The

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Second empire of the Aſſyrians.

THE ſecond Aſſyrian empire ſubſiſted with ſome ſplendor after the diſmemberment of the firſt. Nineveh ſtill continued the capital of a great kingdom. The names and actions of the monarchs who filled the throne till its final deſtruction are handed down to poſterity: The ſacred books record the devaſtations they committed in Judea. Pul, the firſt Aſſyrian king who is mentioned in ſcripture, invaded the kingdom of Iſrael during the reign of Menahem, but departed without committing hoſtilities, upon receiving a thouſand talents of ſilver.

Pul, A. C. 777.

Tiglath-Pilezer, A. C. 747.

TIGLATH-PILEZER, his ſucceſſor, attacked the ſame nation; and having reduced Galilee, and the land of Naphtali, carried the inhabitants captive to Aſſyria. At the requeſt of Ahaz, king of Judah, who had become his tributary, he marched into Syria, ſubdued that antient kingdom, tranſplanted its inhabitants to Upper Media, and ſlaying Rezin their king, put an end to the Syrian monarchy.

Salmanaſar, A. C. 727.

AFTER a reign of twenty years, he was ſucceeded by Salmanaſar. Hoſea, the tributary king of Iſrael, reſolving to ſhake off the Aſſyrian yoke, entered into a league with So, king of Egypt; upon which Salmanaſar invaded Samaria with a numerous army: Having

Having ravaged the country, he beſieged the capital, which ſurrendering after a ſiege of three years, he carried the inhabitants into captivity, ſtrangers being ſent from Babylon, and the adjacent cities, to cultivate the territories of the Jews. Thus Syria and Iſrael were annexed to the Aſſyrian empire. CHAP. III.

SENACHERIB, on his acceſſion to the throne, marched againſt Hezekiah, the king of Judah, with a powerful army, and reduced many of his fortified towns. The interpoſition of providence preſerved Jeruſalem from his fury, by the miraculous deſtruction of his army in one night. This event, though diſguiſed in the narration, is confirmed by Herodotus. Having been ſlain by his two elder ſons, as he was worſhipping in the temple of his god Niſroch, he was ſucceeded by his third ſon, Eſarhaddon or Aſſaradin, who is honourably mentioned in the book of Ezra. He re-eſtabliſhed the power, and enlarged the boundaries of the empire, which, under his father, had fallen to decay. An interregnum happening in the kingdom of Babylon, he improved the opportunity, and united that neighbouring ſtate to his dominions. After he had reigned with great felicity and ſucceſs forty-two years over the Aſſyrians,

Senacherib, A. C. 712.

Aſſaradin, A. C. 709.

A. C. 688.

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Aſſyrians, and thirteen over the Babylonians, he was ſucceeded by his ſon Saoſduchinus, who in the book of Judith is called Nebuchodonoſor. A few years after his acceſſion to the throne, the Medes, under their king Phraortes, invaded Aſſyria. Collecting a powerful army from the provinces of his extenſive empire, Nebuchodonoſor engaged Phraortes in the great plain of Ragau, totally defeated his army, and taking the monarch priſoner, put him to death. Improving his victory, he reduced many of the cities in Media, ſtormed the celebrated capital, Ecbatana, and levelled it with the ground.

A. C. 667.

In the reign of his ſon Sarac, the Medes, under Cyaxares, the ſon of Phraortes, not only recovered the provinces which the Aſſyrians had lately conquered, but defeated them in a pitched battle, and compelled them to ſhelter themſelves in Nineveh. Sarac having incurred the contempt of his ſubjects by his unwarlike and effeminate character, Nabopalaſſar, commander of the troops in Chaldea, revolted from him, and ſeized on the kingdom of Babylon. Having drawn to his alliance Cyaxares, the Median monarch, they marched againſt Nineveh, which they beſieged, and laid in ruins, Sarac having in deſpair ſet fire

A. C. 606.

to

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to his palace, and consumed himself and all his treasures in the flames. The destruction of the capital put an end to the kingdom of Assyria*. It fell to rise no more. The very name of it was lost. The monarchy was divided between the Babylonians and the Medes; and from this time history makes no more mention of the Assyrians.

Destruction of Nineveh.

The kingdom of Babylon, which was seized by Belesis after the fall of the first Assyrian empire, subsisted in some splendor, in the neighbourhood of its powerful rival. Belesis was succeeded by Nabonassar, from whose taking possession of the throne, commences that famous era known by the name of the era of Nabonassar. It corresponds to the 747th year before Christ. From this time Babylon was governed by kings of its own. The ambitious and warlike Assyrian monarchs, who grasped at the sovereignty of the east, and waged war with all the nations around them, committed no hostilities against their Chaldean neighbours, till the reign of Esarhaddon, their fifth king. From the harmony that reigned between these neighbouring kingdoms, it is probable that they were governed by princes

* Herodot. lib. i. cap. 106.

of

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of the ſame family, the younger branch at Babylon acknowledging a kind of ſubjection to the elder at Nineveh. During an interregnum that took place after the ſixth ſucceſſor of Nabonaſſar, Aſſaraddin king of Aſſyria took poſſeſſion of Babylon, and the kingdoms became united. In the reign of Sarac, as we have already mentioned, Nabopolaſſar, the governor of Babylon, having entered into an alliance with Cyaxares the Mede, Nineveh was deſtroyed, and the ſeat of empire transferred to Babylon. Nabopalaſſar advancing in years, aſſociated his ſon Nebuchadnezzar as his partner in the throne. This warlike and ambitious prince, aſſembling a powerful army, marched againſt the Egyptians at Carchemiſh, and having recovered that city, put the garriſon to the ſword. He then marched againſt Judea, took Jeruſalem, plundered the temple, and made Jehoiakim priſoner; but upon his ſubmiſſion to his authority, and promiſe of paying an annual tribute, he reinſtated him on the throne; then purſuing his conqueſts, he reduced all Paleſtine, to the borders of Egypt. Succeeding to the ſole poſſeſſion of the throne, at the death of his father, he applied himſelf to extend his conqueſts, as well as to ſecure thoſe that he had made. The tributary king

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of Jeruſalem having revolted, and entered into an alliance with Pharaoh Hophra, or Apries, king of Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar aſſembled an army, and marching into Judea, in a few days became maſter of the whole kingdom, except Lachiſh, Azekah, and Jeruſalem. Having beſieged the capital, he took it by ſtorm; and plundering the temple, the palace, and the treaſury, he carried the inhabitants captives to Babylon, and put an end to the Jewiſh monarchy.

Ante C. N. 587.

Jeruſalem taken.

On the twenty-firſt year of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar invaded Syria, and ſat down with his army before Tyre; but after a thirteen years ſiege, he found an evacuated city, the inhabitants having retired to a neighbouring iſland. From Tyre he marched into Egypt, and having made a conqueſt of that country, brought from thence an immenſe booty, and an incredible number of captives. About the ſame time he extended his arms to the Ethiopians and Libyans, and ſubdued thoſe nations*.

Conqueſt of Egypt.

Having obtained a name in arms, beyond any of his predeceſſors, this victorious monarch now ſought the leſs ſplendid, but more

* Ezek. xxx. 4.

uſeful

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useful glory of arts; improved and embellished the capital of that empire, the boundaries of which he had extended; and investing Babylon with new splendor, made it one of the wonders of the world.

Description of Babylon.

THE great works that defended, adorned, and have immortalized that celebrated capital of the eastern world, are ascribed to Nebuchadnezzar and Nitocris his spouse, by Berosus *, Megasthenes †, and Herodotus ‡; and their testimony is confirmed by the authority of sacred scripture. The most famed of these magnificent monuments were the walls of the city, the temple of Belus, the hanging gardens, the bridge, and the banks of the river, with the artificial lake and canals.

The walls of Babylon.

As the civilized nations of Asia were in the neighbourhood of barbarous and wander-hordes, who frequently sallied from their wilds and deserts to ravage the cultivated plains, it became absolutely necessary, before monarchs had established revenues and standing armies, to provide for the defence of the kingdom against these foreign invaders. The most natural and obvious plan for this purpose

* Joseph. adv. Appian. lib. i. cap. 6.
† Euseb. Preparat. lib. ix. cap. 41.
‡ Lib. i. p. 185.

was

was that of fortification, by high and impregnable walls. As the early kingdoms of the east conſiſted only of one city *, and its environs, and as theſe were generally fortified, when kingdoms began to enlarge, and capitals to encreaſe, the ſame mode of defence was adopted. Nineveh and Babylon were not cities, in the modern ſenſe of the word, but rather fortified provinces, which contained gardens, arable ground, paſture for cattle, and every thing requiſite for the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants. The wall of China, which ſtill ſubſiſts, and even makes a figure in the map of the world, may ſerve as a ſpecimen of theſe fortifications, which in antient times were not confined to the circumference of a city. CHAP. III.

Nineveh, according to Diodorus †, formed an oblong ſquare, the two greater ſides of which extended to a hundred and fifty ſtadia, or furlongs, in length, and the two leſſer to ninety; the total circuit was conſequently four hundred and eighty ſtadia, or ſixty miles. The expreſſion uſed by the prophet Jonah, "that Nineveh was a great city of three days journey," juſtifies this deſcription of profane hiſtorians, while at the ſame time the Nineveh.

* Quot urbes, tot regna. † Lib. ii. p. 115.

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prophet gives us grounds to conclude, that this capital was not peopled in proportion to the extent of its walls. Children make a fifth part of the inhabitants of a city; and as theſe in Nineveh amounted only to a hundred and twenty thouſand, the population becomes limited to ſix hundred thouſand, inferior to that of Paris or of London, though the boundaries were ſix times more extenſive.

Babylon.

BABYLON, according to Herodotus *, who beheld the remains of its ſplendor, was equal in compaſs to Nineveh; but as it formed a perfect ſquare, contained a greater extent of ground. The outward wall was three hundred feet high, ſeventy-five broad, extending ſixty miles in circumference, and ſurrounded by a deep ditch, continually ſupplied with water. Behind this extraordinary bulwark was another of almoſt equal dimenſions. Theſe walls formed an exact ſquare, each ſide of which was fifteen miles in length: They were built of large bricks, cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous ſlime which iſſues out of the earth in that country, and in a ſhort time grows harder than the very brick and

* Lib. i. p. 178.

ſtone

ſtone which it cements. In every ſide of this great ſquare were twenty-five gates, that is, a hundred in all, formed of ſolid braſs. Between every two of theſe gates, at proper diſtances, were three towers, and four more at the four corners of the great ſquare, each ten feet higher than the walls. As ſome parts of the walls were built on a moraſs, and inacceſſible by an enemy, the labour and expence of rearing turrets were ſpared, ſo that the whole number of the towers amounted only to two hundred and fifty. From the twenty-five gates in each ſide of this great ſquare, went twenty-five ſtreets, in ſtraight lines to the oppoſite gates, each fifteen miles long, and croſſing at right angles. Four ſtreets, alſo, went round the city, next to the walls, two hundred feet broad, having houſes on one ſide, and the walls on the other. By the interſection of the fifty ſtreets, the city was divided into ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſix ſquares, each two miles and a quarter in compaſs. Round theſe ſquares, on every ſide towards the ſtreets, ſtood the houſes, three or four ſtories in height, and beautified with all manner of ornaments. The large void ſpace in the middle of each ſquare was employed for the purpoſes of gardening and agriculture.

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On each ſide of the river ſtood a magnificent palace; the old palace on the eaſt ſide, and the new palace, which was built by Nebuchadnezzar, on the weſt, the former of which was four miles, and the latter eight, in circumference. The temple of Belus, which was ſituated near the old palace, was compoſed of eight towers placed one above another, diminiſhing as they aſcended in the form of a pyramid. According to Herodotus it was a ſquare of a furlong on each ſide, and according to Strabo a furlong in height. This tower exceeded the higheſt of the Egyptian pyramids by a hundred and ſeventy-nine feet, though it fell ſhort of its breadth at the baſes by thirty-three. The way to aſcend was by ſtairs around it on the outſide, whence it is probable that the whole aſcent was, by the benching in, drawn in a ſloping line from the bottom to the top, eight times round it, which gave it the appearance of eight towers, one above the other. Till the time of Nebuchadnezzar this tower was all the temple of Belus; but as he enlarged or adorned the other antient buildings of the city, ſo he likewiſe made additions to this, by vaſt edifices erected round it, in a ſquare of two furlongs on every ſide. Theſe buildings were incloſed by

Temple of Belus.

by a wall, which is ſuppoſed to have extended round one of the great ſquares of the city. Over the whole, on the top of the tower, was an obſervatory, by the benefit of which the Chaldees purſued their aſtronomical diſcoveries.

THE riches incloſed in the temple of Belus correſponded to its prodigious extent. Without mentioning the tables and cenſers, the cups and other ſacred vaſes of maſſy gold, there was a golden ſtatue forty feet high *, which weighed a thouſand Babyloniſh talents, and was worth three millions and a half of our money. Xerxes demoliſhed this temple, and Alexander the Great undertook to rebuild it. He attempted to clear the place and remove the ruins. Ten thouſand workmen, who were employed for two months in theſe operations, were unable to accompliſh them †. Such is the idea which the antients have given us of this magnificent temple.

* This however was exceeded by the image erected on the plains of Dura, which, according to Daniel, was ſixty cubits, or ninety feet, in height.

† Strabo, lib. xvii. Arrian. Epedit. Alexand. lib. vii. p. 480.

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The hanging-gardens.

AMONG the wonders of Babylon, Diodorus and Strabo rank the hanging-gardens, which Nebuchadnezzar is ſuppoſed to have conſtructed to gratify his ſpouſe Amyite, daughter to Aſtyages, king of Media, who retaining a paſſionate attachment to the mountains and foreſts of her native country, wiſhed to behold the reſemblance of them at Babylon. But the ſilence of Herodotus, who had carefully viſited Babylon, on a work ſo ſingular and romantic, and the doubtful manner in which Quintus Curtius expreſſes himſelf on this ſubject, are ſufficient to ſhew, that theſe gardens owed their chief embelliſhment to the imagination of the Greeks.

THE bridge, with the artificial lake and the canals, will be conſidered afterwards, when an account will be given of the progreſs of the arts and ſciences among the Chaldeans.

THE number of victories obtained by Nebuchadnezzar, the extent of his conqueſts, and the magnificence of his capital, began at laſt to intoxicate his mind. Contemplating the glories of that city, which was the work of his own hands, he exclaimed in the pride of his heart, "*Is not this great Babylon which*

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I have built for the house of my kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" No sooner had he uttered this insolent boast, than "the kingdom departed from him;" his pride terminated in a state of insanity; he was driven from the society of men, and dwelt with the beasts of the field.

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Of the Form of Government, Religion, Sciences, Arts, Manners, and Cuſtoms, of the BABYLONIANS.

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THE government of this nation was monarchical, or rather deſpotic, and the crown hereditary. To render the ſubmiſſion of the people more reſpectful, the proud monarchs of Babylon affected divine honours, and retired from the public eye. The adminiſtration of public affairs was committed to officers, divided into three claſſes, and choſen from the nobility, the moſt reſpected for their wiſdom and abilities *. The firſt had the charge of the virgins, and of their diſpoſal in marriage; the ſecond took cognizance of thefts; and the third of all other crimes. The ſubordinate powers under the great king were divided into princes, governors, captains, judges, treaſurers, and counſellors, who preſerved order in the empire, and regulated the

* Strabo, lib. xvi.

civil

civil as well as military œconomy. The chief officers of the royal houſhold were, the captain of the guard, the prince of the eunuchs, and the primeminiſter, who exerciſed the functions of the vizier among the Turks. The firſt of theſe had the execution of the arbitrary commands of the prince; the ſecond had the charge of the women, and ſuperintended the education of the youth in the palace; and the third ſat in the king's gate, to hear complaints, and to adminiſter juſtice. Beſides theſe, the maſter of the magi was always at hand, to interpret omens, and prognoſticate futurity. The attendants on the king were diſtinguiſhed by comelineſs of perſon and excellence of parts; and his wives and concubines, ſelected for their beauty from all parts of the kingdom, appear to have been numberous. Notwithſtanding the affected ſtate and recluſe dignity of theſe monarchs, they ſometimes condeſcended to feaſt and to revel with the lords and chief men of their dominions, of whom we read, that a thouſand were at one time entertained by Belſhazzar *.

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The laws of this empire were vague and uncertain, and, notwithſtanding the influence

* Dan. i. ii. iii. &c.

of

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of antient cuſtoms, depended on the caprice of the monarch. The puniſhments alſo ſeem to be arbitrary, and rigourous in proportion to the fury of the tyrant; ſuch as beheading, cutting to pieces, burning in a fiery furnace, and turning the criminal's houſe into a dunghill.

Religion and ſciences.

THE propenſity of human nature to ſuperſtition is ſo great, that the rudiments of ſcience among all nations are always blended with their religious tenets. More particularly did this union prevail among the Babylonians, as the Chaldees were not only their prieſts, but alſo their ſages or learned men; their religion and philoſophy become therefore inſeparable, and cannot be referred to different heads. The worſhip of the ſun, the moon, and the hoſt of heaven, was the eſtabliſhed and univerſal religion of the eaſt from the earlieſt ages. Bel * and Nabo, or the ſun and moon, were the chief divinities of the Chaldeans; and fire was reverenced as the image or ſymbol of the ſun: The form of their worſhip, their rites and ceremonies, are particularly deſcribed by Moſes. The groves on high places, or the tops of mountains, in which they ſacrificed to their gods; the altars

* Bel, or Baal, ſignifies Lord.

and

and graven images which they erected; the fire-temples in which they offered their children to Moloch *; their prieſts, diviners, prophets, enchanters, necromancers, together with religious proſtitutes for the purpoſe of an impure worſhip, are enumerated by the Jewiſh legiſlator, and deſcribed by the prophets in the decline of the Aſſyrian empire.

THE worſhip of the celeſtial luminaries leads by eaſy ſteps to judicial aſtrology. When the ſtars or planets are conſidered as gods, it is natural, and even rational, to ſuppoſe that they have an influence on human affairs, and indicate or determine the events of life.

THE phenomena of the heavens will aſſume new importance, when they are conſidered as predicting the hiſtory of the earth; an eclipſe of the ſun or moon will be beheld with terror, as well as aſtoniſhment, when it is regarded as the indication of divine wrath, and the omen of future calamity. The prieſts and magi availed themſelves of this credulity of the people, and of that unaccountable deſire in human nature of penetrating into futurity, to eſtabliſh their influence,

* Another name for the ſun.

and

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and ſecure dominion over the minds of men. The aſtronomer or obſerver of the heavens, became the interpreter of the gods, and was believed to have it in his power to affect mankind with happineſs or miſery. Hence aroſe the power and authority of the Chaldees, who poſſeſſed the ſame influence, and enjoyed the ſame privileges as the prieſts in Egypt. Devoted to the intereſt of their order, they uſurped the whole province of ſuperſtition; pretended to inſpiration; and predicted future events, by the rules of augury, the flight of birds, and the inſpection of victims. They interpreted dreams, and explained all the extraordinary phenomena of nature that portended good or evil to man. They built temples to the ſtars on the tops of high mountains, and in the midſt of groves; kindled in them the ever-burning fires; adorned them with images or ſtatues, and convened the credulous multitude to wonder and adore.

SUCH was the origin of the Sabian ſuperſtition, which was afterwards propagated among the nations of the eaſt. In their tranſition from planet-worſhip to image-worſhip, the Sabians denied that they paid adoration to uninformed wood, ſtone, or metal; but affirmed, that the virtues of the planet were infuſed into

into the image by which it was repreſented: This they pretended to effect, by forms of conſecration, and by various incantations, employed to draw down the intelligence and influence of the ſtars into their reſpective idols. Hence aroſe the ſuperſtition of Taliſmans, which ſtill prevails in the eaſt.

THE fame of the Chaldees for learning has been celebrated beyond meaſure by the ignorance and credulity of hiſtorians. They formed theories concerning the earth; but theſe are involved in obſcurity which we cannot penetrate, and diſguiſed by allegories which we cannot explain. They taught that the world was eternal, that it never had a beginning, and would never have an end. They acknowledged, however, a divine providence, and affirmed that the motions of the heavens were performed by the guidance and direction of ſuperior agents. As the magi, or prieſts, were a ſeparate profeſſion at Babylon, as over all the eaſt, the office was alſo hereditary; the ſame traditions and the ſame doctrines deſcended from father to ſon; and in the courſe of ages no acceſſion was made to their learning or philoſophy.

Aſtronomy.

THE banks of the Euphrates diſpute with thoſe of the Nile the merit of having invented

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ed and cultivated aſtronomy. Vaſt extended plains, open on all ſides, where the eye diſcovered a boundleſs horizon, invited to the contemplation and ſtudy of the heavens. The temple of Belus, renowned in Babylon, incloſed in its centre an elevated tower, more antient than the temple, erected for the purpoſe of aſtronomical obſervations. Calliſthenes is ſaid to have ſent Ariſtotle a collection of theſe obſervations, including the ſpace of one thouſand nine hundred and three years. But this fact, firſt mentioned by Porphyry, is not taken notice of by hiſtorians who lived near the time of Alexander's conqueſts. On the contrary Epigenes, whom Pliny quotes with reſpect, and who flouriſhed in the reign of Auguſtus, affirms, that the aſtronomical obſervations of the Chaldeans did not go higher than ſeven hundred and twenty years.

ALTHOUGH they cultivated aſtronomy chiefly for the purpoſes of judicial aſtrology, yet they made conſiderable progreſs in this ſtudy. They taught that the moon is placed below all the ſtars, and below all the planets; that it is nearer the earth, and performs its revolution in leſs time, by reaſon of the ſmaller extent of its orbit. They knew that the moon ſhone with a borrowed light, and that its eclipſes

eclipſes were cauſed by its immerging into the ſhadow of the earth *.

THE Chaldeans reckoned thirty-ſix conſtellations; twelve in the zodiac, and twenty-four without that circle. They divided each ſign of the zodiac into thirty degrees, and each degree into ſixty parts or minutes. The invention of ſun-dials is aſcribed to them by Herodotus †: They attempted to meaſure the length of the ſun's annual revolution; and in the reign of Nabonaſſar, their year conſiſted of three hundred and ſixty-five days. We are informed by Strabo, that they afterwards added five hours and ſome minutes to the annual revolution of the ſun; but the epocha of this diſcovery is unknown.

THE Chaldean ſyſtem concerning comets, though merely conjectural, is amuſing to curioſity. Apollonius Mindus, who ſtudied among theſe aſtronomers, informs us, that they regarded comets as planets, whoſe revolutions were performed in orbits very eccentric to the earth, and that theſe ſtars became viſible only in their progreſs through the lower part of that orbit. They pretended alſo to know the courſe of the comets, and the du-

* Diodor. lib. ii. p. 144. † Lib. ii.

ration

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ration of their periods. Pliny and Plutarch refer alſo to theſe opinions of the Chaldeans. This theory, however, like the true ſyſtem of the univerſe, which Pythagoras learned in Egypt, and which prevailed among ſome of the eaſtern nations, was merely a fortunate conjecture, and aroſe from chance and uncertainty, not from ſtudy and obſervation. The antients had made little progreſs in aſcertaining the phenomena, or explaining the principles of aſtronomy; and ſo imperfect was their theory of the heavenly bodies, that they could not even fortel the eclipſes of the ſun and moon *. Their incapacity for this, now one of the eaſieſt acquiſitions in the ſcience, diſcovers no accurate or extenſive knowledge of the celeſtial phenomena. It is probable too, that ſome of the diſcoveries, aſcribed to them in the earlier ages of their hiſtory, were acquired at a later period. Notwithſtanding the conqueſt of Babylon by Cyrus, and afterwards by Alexander the Great, the Chaldeans were ſtill held in high reſpect and eſtimation, on account of the remarkable prepoſſeſſion of the antients in favour of their ſkill in judicial aſtronomy. The deſtruction

* Diodor. lib. ii. p. 145.

of

of the Babyloniſh empire, did not prevent the Chaldeans from perfecting their aſtronomical diſcoveries; and Diodorus, from whom theſe details are chiefly taken, was not acquainted with this eaſtern ſchool of aſtronomy till the reign of Auguſtus Cæſar.

Geometry and mechanics.

THESE ſciences were cultivated among the Babylonians at an early period. The immenſe works which rendered antient Babylon a ſcene of wonders, give us a high idea of the proficiency of its inhabitants in mechanics; and it is impoſſible to carry mechanics to a certain degree of perfection without the aid of geometry. The ingenious and ſtupendous ſtructures executed at Babylon, furniſh a proof that theſe ſtudies were familiar to its inhabitants. The imagination of travellers has, probably, exaggerated in deſcribing the height of the walls, the temple of Belus, and the hanging-gardens; but the bridge built over the Euphrates, the lake and canals dug by human induſtry, to diſtribute the waters of that river, which have been deſcribed by hiſtorians who had beheld Babylon in its ſplendor, and carefully examined its curioſities, demonſtrate the progreſs which this people had made in the knowledge of geometrical ſcience, and of the mechanic powers. The bridge, reckoned one

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of the moſt wonderful works of the eaſt, was near a hundred fathoms in length, and almoſt four in breadth. Much art and labour were neceſſary in laying the foundations of ſuch a ſtructure in the bed of a deep and rapid river, which rolls along a prodigious quantity of mud, and whoſe bottom is ſandy. Many precautions were neceſſary to be taken in order to ſecure the piers of the bridge of Babylon. They were built of ſtones joined and faſtened together with cramps of iron, and their joints filled with melted lead. The front of the piers, which turned towards the current of the Euphrates, was defended by buttreſſes extremely advanced, which diminiſhed the weight and force of the water by dividing it at a diſtance.

THE ſnows of the Armenian mountains, which diſſolve at the approach of ſummer, cauſe the Euphrates to overflow its banks. Theſe violent floods, in early times, laid all the lands of Babylon under water during the months of June, July, and Auguſt. To remedy the evils, and retain the benefit of theſe inundations, they formed two canals above the city, which carried off the redundant waters into the Tigris before they reached Babylon; and to ſecure the country ſtill more,

they

they contrived means to confine the Euphrates within its banks. To effect this, they built on each ſide of the river a high dyke, and of great extent, lined with bricks cemented with bitumen. As the Euphrates might ſwell ſo conſiderably as to ſurmount theſe dykes, to prevent this diſorder they contrived proper openings along all its banks to give free vent to the waters.

THE Euphrates traverſed Babylon from north to ſouth. Beſide the bridge which I have already deſcribed, Herodotus informs us, that a ſecret gallery was dug beneath the bed of the Euphrates twenty feet high and fifteen broad. It ſerved for a communication between the two palaces, which were built facing each other on the oppoſite ſides of the river.

THESE works could not have been carried into execution without turning aſide the courſe of the Euphrates. This was effected not only by making many drains from that river, but alſo by digging above Babylon an immenſe baſon to contain a part of its waters. When theſe operations were finiſhed, the Euphrates was introduced to its ordinary channel, but the baſon remained. This vaſt reſervoir, which

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communicated with the river by a canal, was deſigned for two uſes: to receive the ſuperfluous waters of the Euphrates during the time of the inundations; and to preſerve them for the purpoſe of watering the grounds in convenient ſeaſons, as by means of ſluices they could draw off the quantity of water which they judged neceſſary. In ſhort, the lake of Babylon ſerved for the ſame purpoſes as the lake Mœris in Egypt. The dimenſions of it cannot be accurately aſcertained, as the antients exaggerate on this ſubject, and differ from each other.

THE labours of the Babylonians to improve their country was not limited to this ſingle enterprize. They multiplied canals through their lands, and diffuſed the Euphrates through the kingdom, in the ſame manner as the Nile was diſtributed in Egypt. Other advantages were gained: the impetuoſity of the Euphrates was diminiſhed, by compelling the river to take many turns, and the acceſs to Babylon was rendered difficult by water.

THESE ingenious and uſeful enterprizes are ſufficient to ſhew that the mathematical ſciences were ſucceſsfully cultivated among the Babylonians. A people who had ſkill to level,

to

to reſtrain, and direct ſuch a river as the Euphrates, muſt have made ſome progreſs in geometry and mechanics. CHAP. IV.

Sculptures.

THE art of ſculpture appears to have been much practiſed among the Babylonians. The ſcripture mentions a golden ſtatue, ſixty cubits in height, and ſix in breadth, erected by the orders of Nebuchadnezzar; and alludes to many other repreſentations of divinities and princes, which filled the temples and palaces of Babylon. The elegance and correctneſs of their artiſts in works of this nature may reaſonably be called in queſtion: if we may judge from ſuch of their monuments as have eſcaped the injuries of time, like the reſt of the Aſiatics, they never knew how to deſign with taſte and preciſion. The figures which appear on the remains of their bas-reliefs are clumſy and incorrect, without attitude, grace, or variety of expreſſion. In the ruins of Perſepolis, commonly ſuppoſed to be the remains of a palace built by the firſt ſovereigns of Perſia, the ſtatues and ornaments, which are yet to be ſeen, are of the worſt taſte, and the meaneſt execution; yet they appear to have been executed in a ſuperior ſtyle to that of the antient ſculptors of Babylon. The palaces of Perſepolis and Suſa were built by

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artiſts whom Cambyſes tranſported out of Egypt into Perſia, after he had ſubjected that empire *. From this circumſtance we may ſafely infer, that he eſteemed the artiſts of Babylon incapable of executing the grand and magnificent projects which he had conceived.

In other branches of art the Babylonians appear to have excelled, particularly in the foundry of metals; this appears from the prodigious number of ſtatues of gold, ſilver, and bronze, which decorated the temples of Babylon. Their ſkill in the manufactures of the loom, particularly in works of embroidery, is celebrated by antiquity: and from the luxury and magnificence in which their kings, princes, and great men lived, it is natural to conclude, that they had carried many of the arts to a conſiderable degree of perfection in the brilliant ages of their monarchy. To what degree of excellence they carried their muſic is uncertain; but from Daniel we learn, that they had a variety of muſical inſtruments, ſuch as flutes, cornets, harps, ſackbuts, pſalteries, and dulcimers. Their language was a dialect of the Syriac, and the ſame alphabet was common to both.

* Diodor. lib. i. p. 55.

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Their trade.

THE trade of this antient people appears to have been conſiderable, eſpecially when Babylon was in the meridian of her glory. Situated in the centre of the old world, this city had an eaſy communication with the weſtern and northern regions by means of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and with the eaſtern by means of the Perſian gulph. As it was not only the ſeat of a potent monarchy, but alſo afforded many productions and manufactures of its own to exchange with its neighbours, it is not to be doubted but that its commerce was extenſive. We may conclude alſo, that they had ſhipping of their own, and were addicted to navigation, ſince their capital is ſtyled by the prophet, "a city of waters."

Manners and cuſtoms.

THE Aſiatics have always been diſtinguiſhed by a ſtrong inclination for pomp, luxury, and effeminacy. The Babylonians were much addicted to theſe vices in the later periods of their monarchy, when, riſing on the ruins of Nineveh, and enriched with the ſpoils of the eaſt, they ſwayed without a rival the ſcepter of Aſia. They indulged in the pleaſures of the table, which they carried to exceſs, and were addicted to intoxication. The banquet which Belſhazzar gave to a thouſand of his lords, on the eve of the taking of Babylon,

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when his wives and concubines were admitted to the entertainment, ſuffices to give us an idea of the diſſolute licentiouſneſs which prevailed in theſe repaſts.

THEY affected ornament and finery in their dreſs. Their under garment was a linen veſt, which deſcended in the eaſtern mode to their feet. Over this they caſt a woollen robe, and then wrapt themſelves in a white mantle or cloak. They let their hair grow long, and their heads were adorned with a tiara or turban. They wore a ſeal ring on the finger, and in the hand a ſtaff finely faſhioned, on the top of which there was a roſe, a lily, a pomegranate, an eagle, or ſome other elegant figure, curiouſly engraved.

THIS was the general dreſs, but the opulent and the noble adorned their perſons with the moſt ſuperb magnificence. Not ſatisfied with ſtuffs of gold and ſilver, embelliſhed with the fineſt dyes and the moſt precious embroidery, they loaded them with the additional ornaments of rubies, emeralds, ſapphires, pearls, and other jewels, which have always been the production of the eaſt. Collars of gold, and pendants of precious ſtones at the ears, formed alſo a part of their finery *.

* Herod. lib. i. Strabo, lib. xvi. Plin. lib. viii. ſect. 74.

TOGETHER

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TOGETHER with the gaudy decorations of dreſs, the Babylonians delighted in the luxury of perfumes, and had refined ſo much on this voluptuous indulgence, that the perfume of Babylon was renowned and coveted among the antients.

WITH regard to the external magnificence, or internal ornaments of their buildings, it is difficult to determine: probably, in the dwellings of private life ſimplicity and œconomy prevailed; but there is every reaſon to believe, that pomp and ſplendor ſhone in the palaces of the ſatrapes, and other perſons of diſtinction in the court of Babylon.

IN the interior decorations of their apartments they diſplayed the ſame taſte, which is ſtill cultivated by the orientals; their chief luxury conſiſted in rich carpets, and ornamental coverings for chairs and beds. The value of one of theſe carpets, wove in the looms of Babylon, amounted, according to Pliny, to eighty-one thouſand ſeſtertia *. The ſacred writers mention the different veſſels of ivory, marble, and braſs, ſtudded with precious ſtones, which adorned their apartments. Theſe facts evince the taſte of the Babylonians for richneſs and magnificence of apparel and luxury.

* Plin. lib. vii. ſect. 74.

CARS

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CARS or chariots, employed in war, were in univerſal uſe among the antients, whether barbarous or beginning to be civilized; but to effeminacy, the perpetual concomitant of luxury, we may attribute the invention of litters or palanquins, which were firſt known in Babylon. The facility and convenience of this vehicle could not eſcape a voluptuous people, who courted indulgence and luxury in every poſſible direction.

IN the midſt of their luxurious refinements, the original character of the nation was not forgotten, and hunting was among their favorite amuſements. So much were they devoted to this exerciſe, that paintings of the chace were ſelected to decorate their apartments, and were even embroidered on their clothes and their furniture.

As an exception to the general maxims and eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of Aſia, the women were not ſhut up in ſeraglios, and ſecluded from the ſociety of men. It appears, on the contrary, that they were admitted to public feaſts; allowed to converſe with ſtrangers, and to eat with them *. At the ſame time, the women were under the care of eunuchs; a contradic-

* Dan. ch. v. ver. 2. Quint. Curt. lib. v. cap. 1.

tion

tion in manners, to be found in the hiſtory of antient as well as of modern nations. Notwithſtanding the propenſity of the Babylonians to luxury and voluptuouſneſs, all antiquity has given teſtimony to their valour and military talents. Xenophon, an unqueſtionable judge, affirms, that the eaſt produced no better ſoldiers than thoſe of Chaldea.

FROM this deſcription it will appear, that the Babylonians, during the ſhining periods of their hiſtory, blended a degree of poliſh and refinement with valour and military talents; that, amidſt their luxury and effeminacy, they never entirely abandoned the character, and even the ferocity, of their anceſtors; and in every age of their empire were addicted to that ſuperſtition and credulity which ſeem to form the baſis of the oriental character. I have dwelt the longer on the hiſtory of this people, as Babylon was the cradle of Aſiatic elegance and arts, and exhibited the firſt examples of that refinement and luxury which have been repeated during every ſubſequent age in the annals of the eaſt.

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Of the MEDES *and* PERSIANS.

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MEDIA was bounded on the north by part of the Caſpian ſea; on the ſouth by Perſis, Suſiana, and Aſſyria; on the eaſt by Parthia and Hyrcania; and on the weſt by Armenia Major. In antient times it was divided into ſeveral provinces; but by a later diviſion theſe were reduced to two, Media Magna and Atropatene.

THE latter contained that part which lay between Mount Taurus and the Caſpian ſea, ſo called from Atropatus, who being governor of this province in the time of Darius, withſtood Alexander the Great, and tranſmitted the country to his poſterity, who held it in the time of Strabo. This tract was inhabited by the Caduſians and Caſpians, a barbarous race, originally ſprung from the Scythians. Its chief cities were Gaza, Tazina, and Cyropolis. To the ſouth-eaſt lay Media Magna, in which ſtood Ecbatana, Laodicea,

dicea, Apamea, and Arfacia. According to the moſt probable opinion, Tauris is the antient and celebrated Ecbatana, though no magnificent ruins are diſcovered in its neighbourhood.

The northern parts of Media, lying between the Caſpian mountains and the ſea, are cold and barren, the ſnow lying on the hills nine months in the year. The ſouthern parts produce all ſorts of grain in abundance, and are ſo delightful to the eye, that the country bordering on Tauris is called the Garden of Perſia. In this region there are extenſive plains; among which, that of Nyſa is celebrated by the antients, for the numerous ſtalls of horſes that were kept in it for the Perſian monarchs. The climate in the northern parts is cold and inhoſpitable, owing to the vapours that riſe from the Caſpian ſea, and to the marſhes which abound in the uncultivated wilds. The ſouthern provinces enjoy a temperate and ſalutary atmoſphere, though ſubject to heavy rains and violent tempeſts in the ſpring and autumn. Beſides the cattle, and game of all ſorts, which the inland provinces produce, ſome of them are diſtinguiſhed for the excellence and variety of their wines, eſpecially in the neighbourhood of Tauris,

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Tauris, where no fewer than ſixty different kinds of grapes are cultivated with ſucceſs.

THE Caſpian ſea, which is the northern boundary of Media, was but imperfectly known to the antients, and even to the modern geographers before the diſcoveries made in the beginning of this century by M. Vanvorden, who, by order of Peter the Great, formed an exact chart of this ſea, from obſervations made on the ſpot. Ptolemy computed that it extended from eaſt to weſt twenty-three degrees and a half; though it is now aſcertained to be leſs than four. This ſea receives the great river Wolga, and near two hundred ſmaller ſtreams, into its channel, and yet is never greatly augmented or diminiſhed, nor obſerved to ebb or flow. From its being conſtantly full, and from the taſte and colour of its waters, which are the ſame with thoſe of the ocean, it has been ſuppoſed that it enjoys a ſubterraneous communication with the Baltic, or the Perſian gulph, which are ſituated in its neighbourhood.

UPON the diſmemberment of the firſt Aſſyrian empire, as I have already mentioned, the Medes threw off the yoke. They did not immediately form themſelves into monarchical government,

government, but remained for ſome time in a ſtate of anarchy. Haraſſed with internal diſſenſions and domeſtic calamities, they reſolved to eſtabliſh civil government, and to elect a king. During the times of confuſion and diſorder, Dejoces had become the arbiter of the diſtrict in which he lived, and had acquired reputation and renown over the whole country, by the wiſdom of his regulations, and the juſtice of his deciſions. Pretending to decline the ſovereignty, to which he was deſtined by the public voice, he ſecured it the more; and anarchy renewing the antient diſorders, a general aſſembly of the nation was called, and he was unanimouſly elected king.

Dejoces begins his reign 700 years ante Ch.

THE new ſovereign being eſtabliſhed on his throne, conducted himſelf in ſuch a manner, as to ſecure his own dignity, and juſtify the choice of the nation. He commanded his ſubjects to build him a magnificent palace, and he demanded guards for the ſecurity of his perſon. The Medes obeyed. The palace was raiſed, and ſurrounded with fortifications; and his life-guards were choſen by himſelf.

HAVING taken proper meaſures to give dignity as well as ſecurity to the throne, he began to eſtabliſh ſuch civil and political regulations as might promote the welfare of his

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ſubjects. Before his acceſſion to the throne, the Medes had lived in ſcattered villages, remote and ſeparate from each other. He united the ſeveral diſtricts, which had been divided during the anarchy; he commanded them to build a city, and to fortify it againſt the attacks of an enemy. He choſe a ſituation in which art had only to aſſiſt nature. Ecbatana was built, and encompaſſed with ſeven walls, the inmoſt of which incloſed the palace of the king, where his treaſures were depoſited.

HAVING reclaimed his ſubjects from their barbarous life, and aſſembled them in cities, he appointed laws and inſtitutions to maintain order throughout his dominions, to accuſtom his ſubjects to diſcipline, and to refine their manners. The character of the nation for ferocity and diſorder ſuggeſted to him the neceſſity or policy of inſpiring a reverence for his perſon, and ſurrounding the royal dignity with imaginary terrors. Accordingly he affected that ſtate of diſtant majeſty, which has been ſo general among the eaſtern princes. Acceſs to his preſence was prohibited, except to thoſe who were introduced with the forms of ſolemnity, by miniſters appointed for the purpoſe. No perſon was permitted to look him

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him in the face, or to ſmile in his preſence. All affairs were managed by the interpoſition of deputies. But though concealed from the eyes of his ſubjects, he had emiſſaries in all the provinces, who informed him of every tranſaction; and ſaw, from the centre of his palace, whatever paſſed in his dominions. Hence no crime eſcaped the knowledge of the prince or the rigour of the law *.

To give ſolemnity to judicial proceedings, litigations and law-ſuits were carried on in writing, and ſentence notified to the parties in the ſame manner. He applied himſelf ſtrictly to the adminiſtration of juſtice, and aſſerted the authority of the laws, by ſevere and rigorous puniſhments. In the infancy of government, and among a rude people, the ſword of juſtice muſt be ſhewn, as well as its balance; and ſeaſonable ſeverity againſt atrocious offenders is the moſt enlarged and liberal humanity.

But although Dejoces may be juſtified for having taken neceſſary precautions to ſupport an authority yet in its infancy, and to eſtabliſh order in a turbulent age, hiſtory cannot vindicate him for having drawn a veil

* Herod. lib. i. p. 99.

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between himſelf and his ſubjects, and having conſulted, by his regulations, the ſplendor of the ſovereign, rather than the happineſs of the people.

A. ante Ch. 647. DEJOCES reigned fifty-three years, and tranſmitted his ſceptre to his ſon Phraortes, who is called Arphaxad in ſcripture. This prince being of a warlike diſpoſition, invaded the Perſians, whom he ſubdued; and conquered the greater part of Upper Aſia, between mount Taurus and the river Halys. Having over-run a part of Aſſyria, he laid ſiege to Nineveh; but here his good fortune forſaking him, he periſhed with the greater part of his army, after having reigned twenty-two years.

625. CYAXARES, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Phraortes, having eſtabliſhed himſelf on the throne, raiſed a powerful army to revenge the death of his father, by the deſtruction of Nineveh. The Aſſyrians oppoſed him on the frontiers; but being defeated, fled to Nineveh, which was immediately beſieged by the conqueror. Cyaxares was ſoon obliged to withdraw his troops from the ſiege, in order to defend his own dominions againſt a mighty army of Scythians, which ruſhing like an impetuous torrent from the Palus Mœotis, made an irruption into the Median

Median territories. The two armies engaged, and the Medes were vanquiſhed. The barbarians finding no other obſtacle in their way, over-ran not only Media, but the greater part of Upper Aſia, and extending their conqueſt to Syria, hovered on the frontiers of Egypt. To prevent their deſtructive progreſs into his dominions, Pſammeticus, the Egyptian monarch, mitigated their fury, and gratified their avarice, by intreaties and preſents.

AFTER the Scythians had continued maſters of Upper Aſia for twenty-eight years, Cyaxares, finding himſelf unable to expel them by force of arms, contrived to deſtroy them by a treacherous ſtratagem. A general feaſt was celebrated, to which the Scythians were invited; the maſters of families having inebriated their gueſts, maſſacred them in that condition, and delivered the kingdom from its oppreſſors. The Medes repoſſeſſed themſelves of the provinces which they had loſt, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the Halys, their antient boundary to the weſt.

CYAXARES having entered into an alliance with Nebuchadnezzar, which he cemented by giving him his daughter in marriage, joined his forces to thoſe of the Babylonians, and

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resumed the siege of Nineveh. After a long defence, the confederated armies took the city, and levelled it with the ground. The destruction of this capital laid the foundation of the two collateral empires of the Medes and Babylonians, which rose on the ruins of the Assyrian monarchy.

Ante Ch. 606.

AFTER the reduction of Nineveh, Cyaxares carried his victorious arms to Armenia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Persis, and Susiana, and annexed them to his dominions. Having erected the kingdom of Media into a powerful empire, he died in the fortieth year of his reign, and left this rich partition of Asia to his son Astyages.

THIS prince, who is supposed to be the Ahasuerus of the Jews, gave his daughter Mandane in marriage to Cambyses a Persian; from which union, according to the most probable accounts, Cyrus descended, the founder of the Persian monarchy. From this period the history of the Medes becomes blended with that of the Persians.

Persia.

ANTIENT Persia extended in length from the Hellespont to the mouth of the river Indus, about two thousand eight hundred miles; and in breadth, from Pontus to the Arabian gulf, about two thousand. Gedrosia, now called

called Makran; Caramania, which contains the modern provinces of Chirman and Ormas; Drangiana, now named Sigeſtan; Parapamiſus, to which the modern Perſians give the appellation of Sableſtan; Bactriana, at preſent called Charaſſan; Margiana, now Eſterabad; Hyrcania, whoſe capital ſtill retains its antient Name; Parthia, which incloſes Iſpahan, the metropolis of modern Perſia; Perſis, now Pars; and Suſiana, now Chaſiſtan, whoſe celebrated city of Suſa, or Shuſhan, was once the ſeat of oriental ſovereignty; are the chief provinces of an empire, which, in antient times, obtained the dominion of Aſia, and threatened the deſtiny of Europe. According to Chardin, there are computed in the dominions of Perſia upwards of five hundred conſiderable cities, walled towns, and caſtles, about ſixty thouſand villages, and forty millions of inhabitants.

FROM the vaſt extent of this country, the air and climate partake of great variety; ſome regions being frozen with cold, and others ſcorched with heat, at the ſame ſeaſon of the year. Along the coaſts of the Perſian gulf and the Indian ocean, the heat, during four months of the year, is ſo exceſſive as to be intolerable to the natives, who at theſe ſea-

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ſons forſake their habitations on the plains, and retire to the mountains. The eaſtern provinces, and even the northern, on the coaſts of the Caſpian ſea, are ſubject, like the ſouthern, to inſupportable heats, attended with moiſture, and noxious to the inhabitants. The people here alſo retire about the beginning of ſummer to the coolneſs of the mountains, ſometimes to the diſtance of thirty leagues from the ſea; and though their country, from October to May, be extremely beautiful and pleaſant, yet they carry in their countenance indelible marks of the malignant influence of their ſummers, being tinctured with a ſickly yellow, and deſtitute of ſpirits or ſtrength. The humidity of the air is found only in the northern regions; for the other provinces of Aſia enjoy a dry atmoſphere, the ſky being perfectly ſerene, and ſeldom ſpotted with a cloud. The natives derive from this purity of the element a clear and florid complexion, together with an excellent habit of body. Though it ſeldom rains, the heats are mitigated by periodical breezes, which ſpring up at night and laſt till morning.

THE winter, in theſe places, is ſevere and rigorous; the ſnow falls in great flakes on the mountains, but never covers the plains.

In

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In ſome mountainous regions, weſt from Iſpahan, the ſnow lies eight months in the year. The dryneſs of the atmoſphere exempts Perſia from thunder; but hail frequently falls in the ſpring, and is fatal to the fruits of the earth. The winds ſeldom ſwell into ſtorms or tempeſts, but on the ſouthern coaſts they are often ſickly and infectious *. People often find themſelves ſtruck by a ſouth wind, ſays Tavernier, in ſuch a manner, that they cry, "I burn," and imediately fall down dead. Le Brun felt the noxious influence of theſe ſultry climates, and was informed by the inhabitants, that the weather was ſometimes ſo exceſſively hot as to melt the ſeals of letters.

No country in the world is more mountainous than Perſia; but theſe ranges of mountains which figure on the map, are not bleſt with the bounty of Nature, as moſt of them contain no metals, nor even give birth to ſprings, and only a few of them are ſhaded with wood: thoſe ſituated on the frontiers ſerve as a kind of natural ramparts or bulwarks to this vaſt empire. In this claſs are the mountains of Caucaſus and Ararat, in modern times called the mountains of Dag-

* Chardin, tome iii.

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heſtan, which fill all the ſpace between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas. Taurus, and its ſeveral branches, run through Perſia from Natolia to India, and occupy the middle regions of this extenſive kingdom.

NONE of the rivers are navigable except the Araxis; the other ſtreams are diminiſhed by being cut into many channels to water the grounds. This was practiſed formerly much more than of late years; and hence, in a great meaſure, ariſes the mighty difference between the productions of antient and modern Perſia. Theſe channels are daily leſſening; for Tavernier was informed by a Perſian nobleman, that within the ſpace of twenty-four years, no fewer than eighty channels had been choaked up in the territory of Tauris.

FROM the few and inconſiderable rivers, and the great number of mountains without ſprings, it may be concluded that the ſoil cannot be generally rich or fruitful. The vallies, however, are fertile and luxuriant; but the earth is every where ſo dry, that it produces nothing without being watered. The ſcanty rains are not ſufficient to keep the beſt lands in a ſtate of cultivation without the aſſiſtance of art. The oppreſſive government of the Mahommedan princes, and the want

of

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of induſtry among the inhabitants, are the principal cauſes that the barren aſpect of this country at preſent does not correſpond to the luxuriant deſcriptions of the antient hiſtorians *.

In the variety, excellence, and beauty of its vegetable productions, Perſia exceeds other countries. The plantane, the willow, the fir, the cornel, the almond-tree, and the wild cheſtnut, are found in the woods. Trees which produce gums, maſtich, incenſe, and manna, are common to Perſia. Moſt of the European vegetables flouriſh here in great perfection; and their aromatic herbs are famed all over the eaſt. The fineſt and moſt delicious fruits which have been tranſplanted to Europe, which are reared with induſtry in the garden, and matured with artificial heat, are ſcattered here in profuſion by the hand of Nature. Melons, grapes, dates of the palm-trees, and peaches, grow here in the greateſt abundance, particularly in Bactria, which may be looked upon as the garden of the eaſt. Chardin informs us, that at an entertainment near Iſpahan, he ſaw fifty different kinds of fruit provided for a deſert.

* Q. Curtius. Amian. Marcellin.

No

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No grain is cultivated here except wheat, barley, and millet, which grow to an uncommon ſize, and are of a peculiar excellence. Rice is the chief aliment of the people, as over all the eaſt.

All the finer flowers which are known to the Europeans, and many which are unknown, ſpring ſpontaneouſly in Perſia. For ſeveral months the whole country is covered with them, as with a rich carpet of the moſt vivid and glowing colours. The roſes are of peculiar beauty, and the ſame buſh often produces them of three different colours.

Metals of all kinds, except gold and ſilver, have been found in Perſia ſince the reign of Abbas the Great: their richeſt mines are thoſe of the turquoiſe, called by the Perſians phirouze.

The horſes of Perſia, next to thoſe of Arabia, are the moſt beautiful in the eaſt. Camels are ſo numerous, and in ſuch frequent uſe, that they are called the land ſhips; and it is by means of theſe living vehicles that their inland trade is carried on.

The feathered tribes which are familiar to Europe, are found here, but not in profuſion. The partridges, which ſeem to be natives of this country, are the largeſt in the world,

and

and equal the ſize of our fowls. They have many birds of ſong, which are unknown in our woods; and the voice of the nightingale is heard the whole year round. Birds of prey abound in this country, and falconry is not only practiſed by the nobles, but even by the peaſants.

THE natural hiſtory of a country cannot be unintereſting, which produced Cyrus, the moſt diſtinguiſhed hero of the eaſt; gave origin to the ſecond of the four great monarchies; and operated a revolution not only in Aſia, but in the world.

NOTHING is known concerning the hiſtory or ſtate of the Perſians previous to the time of Cyrus. It is probable that they were tributary to the Aſſyrians and Medes; but the throne was ſtill filled with princes of their own nation. The only great family we find upon record is that of Achæmenes, which muſt indeed have been illuſtrious, ſince Xerxes, when in the career of conqueſt, and at the height of his glory, was proud to derive his pedigree from that original *. Achæmenes was the grandfather of Cyrus, the founder of the Perſian empire, and the firſt of its kings.

* Herodot. lib. vii.

MANDANE,

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MANDANE, the daughter of Aſtyages, king of the Medes, was the mother of this prince; his father was either king of Perſia, or a perſonage of the firſt diſtinction in that country. The Perſians at this time conſiſted of twelve ſmall tribes, and inhabited only a province of that extenſive empire, afterwards known by the name of Perſia. The whole nation at that time could number no more than a hundred and twenty thouſand men. Afterwards, when by the wiſdom and valour of Cyrus they had obtained the empire of the eaſt, the name of Perſia enlarged with their fortunes, and comprehended all that vaſt tract which extends between eaſt and weſt from the river Indus to the Tigris, and between north and ſouth from the Caſpian ſea to the ocean. The hardy inhabitants of theſe mountainous regions held the ſame ſuperiority over the enervated poſſeſſors of the rich Aſiatic plains, which is ſtill obſerved in the ſultry climates of the eaſt *, and wanted only ſuch a general as Cyrus to lead them on to victory and dominion.

THIS prince was beautiful in his perſon, but more engaging by the qualities of his

* Orm. Hiſt. Indoſtan.

mind.

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mind. He was educated according to the ſevere diſcipline of the Perſians; but when he was twelve years of age, he went with his mother Mandane to viſit his grandfather Aſtyages. During his reſidence at the court of Ecbatana, he gained the affections of the Medes by his obliging diſpoſition, his generoſity, and his heroic ſpirit. At the age of ſixteen he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the field, againſt the prince of Babylon, who had invaded the Median territories; and diſplayed the firſt ſpecimens of that valour which afterwards conducted him to the empire of Aſia. Returning to Perſia in the following ſeaſon, he remained there till the fortieth year of his age, when he was recalled to the aſſiſtance of his uncle Cyaxares, who, upon the death of Aſtyages, had ſucceeded to the throne of Media.

Ante Ch. 585.

THE combination of the Medes and Perſians alarmed the fears and excited the jealouſy of Nerigliſſar, king of Babylon. Accordingly he ſent ambaſſadors to the Lydians, Phrygians, Carians, Capadocians, Paphlagonians, and Cilicians, imploring their aid againſt a new power, which threatened the tranquillity and meditated the ſubjugation of all Aſia. As the ſubſequent events prepared the way for the eſtabliſhment of a greater empire

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pire than hiſtory has hitherto recorded, it is requiſite to deliver them in a detail, and to deſcribe thoſe nations of the Leſſer Aſia, whoſe vicinity to Greece, or connection with its inhabitants, gave riſe to the celebrated wars between the Greeks and Perſians.

Aſia Minor.

FROM the earlieſt periods of time, the people of Aſia Minor were diſtinguiſhed by the ſame manners, and ſpoke the ſame language, as the Greeks. They had therefore a common origin. But opulence and the arts were earlier known in Aſia Minor than in Greece. A multitude of petty kingdoms was eſtabliſhed, of whom no remembrance remains; but the Phrygians, Lydians, and Trojans, are well known, and their progreſs in the arts and in luxury appears to have been conſiderable. Before the Trojan war, Phrygia was celebrated among the Greeks for its riches. Midas, the ſecond Phrygian king, is ſaid to have turned every thing that he touched into gold; a metaphorical expreſſion intended to denote the ſkill of this prince in improving the productions of his country, and his attention to make trade flouriſh in his dominions. This conjecture appears the more probable, as Midas was particularly attached to the improvement of navigation. He is ſaid to have invented the anchor,

anchor, by which ships are stopt in their course *. The Phrygians were regarded for some time as masters of the sea; a superiority which none but trading nations could enjoy.

LYDIA was no less famed for its opulence, industry, and improvement. In this province stands the mountain Tmolus, antiently abounding with gold, which the river Pactolus brought down from the craggy summits. At the foot of this mountain, and on the banks of the Pactolus, the town of Sardis early rose to importance, and became the capital of Lydia. Improving the natural advantages of their country, the Lydians became opulent and flourishing. They were the first people of antiquity who are known to have exercised retail trades, and the first who struck coins of gold and silver †. Opulence is naturally attended with ambition; and while the people became enriched by their industry, the monarchs extended their dominions eastward, as far as the river Halys. In the neighbourhood of such a dangerous power, the Grecian colonies could not preserve their independence. Gyges led an army against them, and the

* Pausan. lib. i.

† Herodot. lib. i. cap. 35. 74. 93, 94.

power

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power of the Lydian kingdom, exerted with perſeverance, was too great for theſe little commonwealths to reſiſt. Ardyes, ſon of Gyges, took Miletus and Priene.

A CIMMERIAN horde having over-run Aſia Minor, attacked Sardis, and ſuſpended for a time the progreſs of the Lydians; but this evil was tranſitory, the kingdom revived with new luſtre under the reign of Crœſus, who increaſed the power and extended the territories which he received from his anceſtors. He made all the Aſian Greeks tributary; and, excepting Lycia and Cilicia, was maſter of the whole of Aſia Minor, as far as the river Halys. Diſtinguiſhed by his virtues as well as abilities, he was no leſs beloved than feared; and the Aſian Greeks became attached to him as ſubjects to their legal hereditary ſovereign. He appears to have been partial to the Greeks, and encouraged men of genius and learning of that nation to frequent his court; but he was not deſtitute of ambition and the love of conqueſt. Being maſter of the whole weſtern coaſt of Aſia Minor, with all its ſhipping, he had the means of eſtabliſhing a more formidable naval power than had yet been known in the world. Already the iſlands trembled for their independency; and Greece itſelf was not

not without apprehenſion, when the ambaſſadors from the king of Babylon arrived, and ſolicited his aid to check the progreſs of the Medes and Perſians, who had defeated the Aſſyrian army, and threatened the entire conqueſt of that empire. Crœſus, alarmed at the growing power and fame of Cyrus, adopted the obvious policy to ſupport the Aſſyrian monarch, and to endeavour to hold the balance between him and the Perſians.

When both parties had been employed for three years in forming alliances, and making preparations for war, the confederated armies took the field. After a fierce engagement, Nerigliſſar, the king of Babylon, was ſlain, the Aſſyrian army was routed, and victory declared for Cyrus. On the death of Nerigliſſar, Crœſus, king of Lydia, being next in dignity, took the command of the vanquiſhed army, and attempted to conduct them in ſafety from the field: but Cyrus overtook them in their flight, diſperſed them in great diſorder, and obtained poſſeſſion of their camp; chiefly by the aſſiſtance of the Hyrcanians, who had revolted to him on the preceding night. Crœſus fled to Lydia. Cyrus reſerved to himſelf all the horſes that were taken, in order to form a body of cavalry for the

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Persian army, which hitherto they had wanted. The richest and most valuable part of the booty he set apart for Cyaxares, and having obtained a promise from the prisoners not to appear any more in arms against him, or his allies, he allowed them to return to their respective countries.

LABYNETUS, the Belshazzar of scripture, succeeded to the throne of Babylon nine months after the death of Nerigliſſar. While this weak and indolent prince consumed his days in luxury and pleasure, his mother Nitocris, a woman of an excellent understanding and a masculine spirit *, assumed the cares of the government, and took every proper precaution to defend the country, and fortify the capital against the victorious Medes. Cyaxares arriving at the camp of Cyrus, after various consultations, it was resolved to conduct the war in future in besieging the fortresses, and taking the towns, in order to make themselves masters of the country. Accordingly they reduced many cities, and several entire provinces, without much resistance from the Babylonians. Alarmed with the progress of their conquests, Labynetus went with a great part

* Herod. lib. i.

of

of his treasures to Croesus, king of Lydia, by whose assistance and influence he raised a formidable confederacy against the Medes and Persians; and having a numerous army of Egyptians, Greeks, Thracians, and the nations of Lesser Asia, he appointed Croesus to be their general, and ordered them to invade Media. CHAP. V.

Cyrus being informed of these vast preparations by one of his confidents, who, by his consent, had gone over to the enemy as a deserter, took leave of Cyaxares, who remained in Media with a third part of the troops; marched forwards to meet the confederated forces in their own territories, and disconcert their measures by the boldness of his undertaking. One great battle decided the fate of Croesus and of Lydia. Cyrus was victorious, and pursuing the advantages of his victory, marched immediately to Sardis, took Croesus prisoner, and made his kingdom a province of the Persian empire.

After the conquest of Lydia, Cyrus continued in Lesser Asia till he had reduced to subjection the different nations that inhabited its territories, from the Egean sea to the Euphrates. From thence he marched into Syria and Arabia, which submitted to his authority. After Ante Ch. 548.

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ter having eſtabliſhed tranquillity in the provinces of Upper Aſia, he again entered Aſſyria, and proceeded to Babylon. Labynetus ventured to try the fate of a battle, but being defeated, retired into his capital, which was immediately beſieged by Cyrus. The ſiege of this important place, the metropolis of Aſia, was an enterprize of great difficulty. The walls were high and impregnable; the number of men to defend them was great; the city was furniſhed with proviſions for twenty years *, and there was a great extent of ground within the walls appropriated to tillage and paſturage. Cyrus, however, not diſcouraged with theſe difficulties, proſecuted his deſign, and perceiving it to be impracticable to take the place by ſtorm, he cauſed a line of circumvallation to be drawn round the city, with a large and deep ditch; and that his troops might not be over-fatigued, divided his army into twelve bodies, and aſſigned each of them its month, to guard the workmen at the trenches. The beſieged, thinking themſelves protected from danger and from famine by their high walls and their magazines, inſulted Cyrus from the ramparts, and derided his efforts as unprofitable labour.

* Herod. lib. i. Cyropæd. lib. vii. Q. Curt. lib. v. cap. i.

Two

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Two years having been consumed in ineffectual operations, Cyrus at length contrived a stratagem, which, with little difficulty, made him master of Babylon. Being informed that an annual festival was approaching, at which the Babylonians were accustomed to spend the whole night in rioting and drunkenness, he seized the favourable opportunity to attack the city. On the approach of the appointed day, he sent a strong detachment to the head of the canal leading to the great lake, which was dug for receiving the superfluous waters of the river, with orders to break down the great dam between the lake and the canal, and to divert the whole current into the lake. At the same time he stationed one division of his troops at the place where the river ran into Babylon, and another where it came out; ordering them to enter the city by its channel, whenever they should find it fordable. Towards the evening he opened the head of the trenches on both sides of the river above the city, to discharge the waters. By these means, and the breaking down of the great dam, the river was soon drained, so that by midnight the two bodies of troops entered the channel, the one conducted by Gobrias, the other by Gadates, Babylonian nobles who had revolted to Cyrus. Finding the gates that separated

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the ſtreets from the river left open by negligence, occaſioned by the general riot, the united parties entered the city without oppoſition, and ſurpriſing the guards, put them to death. Thoſe within the palace opening the gates to know the cauſe of the tumult, the Perſians ruſhed in, and attacking the king, who met them in arms, ſlew him with his nobles around him. Cyrus became maſter of Babylon, and concluded his conqueſts after a war of twenty-one years; during which he had ſubdued all the nations of the eaſt, from the Egean ſea to the river Indus, and erected the greateſt empire that had been ever known in the world.

THIS account of the taking of Babylon, which I have taken from Herodotus and Xenophon, is confirmed by ſacred ſcripture. The book of Daniel informs us, that Belſhazzar made a great feaſt for a thouſand of his lords, for his wives, and concubines; at this entertainment, having prepared the gold and ſilver veſſels which were taken from the temple of Jeruſalem, by ordering them to be brought to the banquetting-houſe, and making libations from them to his falſe gods, the wrath of Heaven was declared againſt the impious king. A hand appeared on the wall, and wrote the ſentence of his immediate deſtruction. The prophet Daniel explained the characters

characters of deſtiny to the aſtoniſhed monarch; "that his days were numbered; that his kingdom was departed from him, and given to the Medes and Perſians." Immediately the palace was taken, and Belſhazzar ſlain. CHAP. V.

CYRUS employed the remaining years of his reign in conſolidating the conqueſts which he had made, and modelling the numerous nations which acknowledged his authority into one regular empire. We have neither certain nor complete information concerning the tranſactions of this illuſtrious prince, either in war or peace: but upon the whole it appears, that his humanity was equal to his valour; and that his laws and political inſtitutions were marked by the ſame ſuperiority of genius which conducted him to conqueſt. The father of the Perſian empire received the congratulations of the conquered as well as the conquerors; and his name is celebrated in the poems of Greece, the annals of Aſia, and the records of inſpiration. The vaſt and extenſive dominions which were gained by his valour, and eſtabliſhed by his wiſdom, ſtood on the ſtrength of this original baſis for two hundred years, notwithſtanding the raſh and improvident conduct of his ſucceſſors.

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Ante Ch. 529.

CYRUS was ſucceeded by his ſon Cambyſes. This raſh and extravagant prince diſcovered all the vices which abſolute power engenders, and diſgraced the throne which his father had filled with ſo much luſtre. The firſt event of his reign was a war againſt the Egyptians. From the time of Seſoſtris to that of Pſammeticus, that is, for more than nine hundred years, Egypt furniſhes few tranſactions for the hiſtoric page. Not that this kingdom had ſuffered any fatal cataſtrophe, or conſiderable diminution. We learn from Homer*, that in the time of the Trojan war Egypt was flouriſhing. The ſacred ſcriptures ſuggeſt the ſame idea of it, in the time of Solomon and his ſucceſſors. The Egyptian monarchs appear to have been always of great political importance. They interfered frequently in the affairs of Arabia and Paleſtine; and had tranſactions in war and in peace with Aſſyria. But a vaſt deſert divided the two

* Odyſſ. lib. iv.

monarchies,

monarchies, and the countries disputed by their arms were on the frontier, and far distant from the seat of empire. During, therefore, a period of tranquillity seldom interrupted, Egypt cultivated science and the arts; and under Amasis, cotemporary with Cyrus, so flourished in wealth and population, that, according to Herodotus, it contained twenty thousand towns *, some of which were of extraordinary size and magnificence. Egypt was at this time the academy of Greece; all who sought a literary reputation visited this antient seat of science; and the circumstance of having conversed with the fathers of wisdom gave celebrity to a Greek philosopher. About a hundred years before the reign of Amasis a civil war in Egypt had given occasion to the establishment of a Grecian colony in that kingdom. On a failure of the antient line of the Pharaohs, twelve chiefs had divided the sovereignty, and governed with equal authority. Psammeticus, one of the number, being suspected by the rest, was banished to the marshy regions of Egypt. This disaster proved the means of his deliverance, for, with the assistance of some piratical adventurers from Caria

* Lib. ii. cap. 177.

and

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and Ionia, whom a tempeſt had thrown upon theſe ſhores, he ſubdued the twelve kingdoms, and became maſter of Egypt *.

GRATEFUL to his Grecian auxiliaries, Pſammeticus not only recompenſed them liberally, but aſſigned them portions of land, and gave them a ſettlement in his dominions near the mouth of the Nile. Till that period foreign nations were debarred acceſs to Egypt: at the city of Naucratis only they were allowed to land and to trade. Pſammeticus opened his ports to the commerce of all nations, favoured navigation in his ſeas, and granted privileges to ſtrangers who choſe to ſettle in Egypt. Particularly attached to the Greeks, he protected and encouraged them; educated his children in the Grecian manner, and entered into an alliance with the Athenians and other ſtates of Greece.

THE revolution muſt have operated a change in the antient conſtitutions of Egypt. The influence of the great families would be diminiſhed, and a monarch, who reigned by an army of foreigners, would naturally ſubject his dominions to military rule. The ſcepter of Pſammeticus did not remain long in his

* Herod. lib. ii. cap. 152, 153.

family;

family; Apries, his grandſon, was dethroned, and Amaſis, a private Egyptian, acquired the ſovereignty. This prince is numbered among the Egyptian legiſlators. He made new regulations for the re-partition of the provinces, and improving the form, promoted the tranquillity of government. Under his reign Egypt attained to its greateſt height of proſperity and population. Extending the policy of Pſammeticus, he removed the Ionian and Carian ſoldiers to Memphis, and formed them into a guard for his perſon. He greatly encouraged the reſort of the Greeks to Egypt, and even permitted them to build temples, and to have their proceſſions and religious ceremonies after the manner of their country. Farther, to cultivate a general intereſt among the Greeks, he made ample preſents to the Amphictyons for rebuilding the temple of Delphi. CHAP. VI.

This enlightened and able prince died at an advanced age, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Pſammenitus; while Cambyſes, after making preparations for four years, turned his arms againſt Egypt. The Perſians were utterly unacquainted with naval affairs, but they had an abſolute command of whatever the Aſian Greeks

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Greeks could ſupply. Tyre alſo, the firſt maritime power of the world, was under the dominion of Cambyſes. The Cyprian Greeks had alſo ſubmitted to the Perſian power; and all theſe people contributed to form the fleet and army which were to invade Egypt. Yet all the formidable force of this extenſive empire might have failed, but for the opportune arrival of Phanes, the Halicarnaſſian. This officer, who was high in command among the Grecian auxiliaries, offended at Pſammenitus or his miniſters, deſerted from the Egyptian ſervice, and came over to Cambyſes. The approach to Egypt from Aſia with a large army, from the nature of the intervening country, is extremely difficult, even though there was no enemy to oppoſe its progreſs: but in Phanes, the Halicarnaſſian, the Perſians found an able conductor, who had an accurate knowledge of the country, and of the approaches that led to its frontier. The army had to paſs through a part of the deſert Arabia; Phanes purchaſed the friendſhip of an independent Arabian chief, ſuch as ſtill hold dominion in that country, and through his aſſiſtance the troops were accommodated with proviſions, and, what was

ſtill

ſtill more difficult in theſe regions, were ſupplied with water *, which was tranſported on camels through the deſert. Thus a formidable obſtacle was overcome, and the army met the fleet before Peluſium. That city, the key of Egypt, was taken after a ſhort ſiege. Pſammenitus was ſoon after defeated in a great battle, and the whole country ſubmitted to the conqueror. The neighbouring Africans, and the Greeks of Cyrene and Barca, ſent offers of ſubmiſſion, and became tributary. Elated with the acquiſition, and giddy with ſucceſs, Cambyſes meditated farther conqueſts, and propoſed to make war at the ſame time upon the Carthaginians, Ammonians, and Ethiopians. The firſt expedition he was forced to lay aſide, as the Phenicians refuſed to aſſiſt in a war againſt their deſcendants. Determined on the other two, he ſent ambaſſadors with preſents to the king of Ethiopia, in order to inſpect the ſtate and eſtimate of the ſtrength of the country. This monarch ſuſpecting their intentions, ſent his own bow as a preſent to Cambyſes, and delivered it to the ambaſſadors, with this advice, "Tell your maſter not to attack the Ethiopians till he can bend the

* Herod. lib. iii. cap. 44.

bow

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boast of their king, and to thank the gods for not having inspired us with the ambition of extending our dominions." Enraged with this answer, Cambyses commanded his army to begin their march, without having formed any plan of conduct, or furnished himself with provisions for such an undertaking. When he arrived at Thebes, in Upper Egypt, he sent a detachment of fifty thousand men against the Ammonians, ordering them to ravage the whole country, and to burn the temple of Jupiter Ammon. After they had marched for several days in the desert, a violent whirlwind blew from the south, clouds of sand involved the atmosphere, and the whole army was overwhelmed and buried in the wilderness. Cambyses in the mean time marched forward with frantic rage against the Ethiopians; but when he had advanced about a fifth part of the way, his troops having consumed all their beasts of burthen, were obliged to feed on herbs and grass, and were in danger of perishing by famine. Cambyses at last gave up the wild enterprize, and, after having lost more than one half of his army in the desert, returned to Thebes.

Upon his arrival in that city, he ordered all the temples, which were incredibly rich and magnificent,

magnificent, to be pillaged and burnt to the ground. Marching back to Memphis, he found the whole city diſſolved in feſtivity and mirth, which he concluded was on account of his unſucceſsful expedition. Not believing the magiſtrates, who declared that the appearance of their god Apis among them was the occaſion of the public rejoicings, he cauſed them to be put to death; and next enquired of the prieſts, who returning the ſame anſwer, he deſired to ſee their god, who was ſo familiar and condeſcending as to appear to his votaries. The god was accordingly introduced: Cambyſes on ſeeing a calf kindled into rage, and drawing his dagger, wounded Apis in the thigh, and reproaching the prieſts for their ſtupid idolatry in worſhipping a brute, ordered them to be whipped, and all who ſhould be found celebrating the feaſt of Apis to be ſlain. CHAP. VI.

THE killing of Apis was looked upon by the Egyptians as an action of the moſt dreadful impiety; and they affirm, that Cambyſes after the commiſſion of it was immediately ſeized with madneſs. But from the tenor of his conduct we may conclude that he was ſo before. Indeed, ever ſince the conqueſt of Egypt, his actions were thoſe of an extravagant

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gant and frantic tyrant, his wildneſs often approaching to inſanity.

On his return to Perſia, a herald from Suſa met his army, and ordered them to obey Smerdis the ſon of Cyrus, who was proclaimed king. Conſcious that his brother Smerdis had been put to death by his own orders, Cambyſes vowed vengeance againſt the impoſtor, but an accidental wound from his own ſword delivered the world from his cruelty and oppreſſion.

The uſurper of the throne was one of the magi, and brother to Patiſithes, who had been inveſted with the adminiſtration of affairs during the abſence of Cambyſes. The impoſture was detected, and a conſpiracy being formed by ſeven of the nobles, the counterfeit Smerdis was ſlain, and Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, governor of Perſia, was appointed maſter of the empire.

Ante Ch. 521. Darius was deſcended of the royal family of Achæmenes, and his father Hyſtaſpes had attended Cyrus in all his wars. The better to ſecure himſelf on the throne, he married the two daughters of Cyrus, Atoſſa, and Artyſtona; and made it the object of his reign to complete or improve the plan which Cyrus

rus had traced for the adminiſtration of his vaſt dominions. He divided his empire into twenty ſatrapies or governments; and, for the better regulation of the revenue and defence of the ſtate, impoſed an annual tribute on the provinces. Perſia alone was exempted from taxes. In apportioning the impoſts, and directing their collection, he is ſaid to have diſcovered much diſcernment, as well as great moderation; yet antient cuſtoms are ſo reſpected in the eaſt, and the ſacrifice of private convenience to public neceſſity is every where ſo difficult, that the Perſians, forming a compariſon of their three firſt emperors, called Cyrus the Father, Cambyſes the Tyrant, and Darius the Merchant of the empire.

THE Babylonians, who bore the yoke of Perſia with impatience, becauſe the ſeat of empire was transferred to Suſa, revolted from Darius in the fifth year of his reign. He beſieged the city with a numerous army; but, after he had continued for twenty months before the walls, he was about to renounce the enterprize, when Zopyrus, one of the chief nobility, with unexampled generoſity devoted himſelf to the glory and the intereſt of his maſter. Having mangled his face, and wounded his body, he deſerted to the city, and preſented

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himself to the inhabitants as the victim of Darius's cruelty. The Babylonians gave him their confidence, and the command of their army. At different sallies he cut off several thousands of the Persians, according to a private agreement with Darius, who had exposed them on purpose half armed; the king then approaching the walls with all his army, Zopyrus opened the gates of Babylon, and admitted the Persians. Having obtained possession, Darius demolished the walls, and put to death three thousand of the citizens who were most active in the revolt. He raised Zopyrus to the highest honours, and bestowed upon him the revenues of Babylon for life.

THE Persian monarch now extended his sway over all the civilized nations of the world, which have hitherto been the subjects of historical record. Assyria, whose fame ascends to the earliest ages; Egypt, the seat of antient kings, the scene of so many wonders, and the birth-place of the arts and sciences; Babylon, which in its magnificence and splendor awed or commanded the world; Media, which had subsisted for centuries in independent lustre; Lydia and Lesser Asia, celebrated for opulence and arts; Tyre, which by commercial consequence and naval power had obtained a distinguished rank among

among the nations; were united into one vaſt empire, and acknowledged the authority of the great king. There ſcarcely appeared in the world an object for the Perſian ambition, and it might have been expected that an enlightened and provident prince like Darius, would have preferred a peaceful reign to new conqueſts, and been ſatisfied with the glory of regulating and improving his vaſt dominions without endeavouring to extend them. But foreign conqueſt is ſometimes neceſſary to prevent internal commotions, and monarchs have been compelled to carry on wars abroad in order to preſerve tranquillity at home. "It had not been the manner of the Perſians," ſays Herodotus, "to be idle or inactive." Military glory was their chief object, and they had been accuſtomed to conſider their ſovereigns as conquerors. Perhaps it was the neceſſity of giving employment to ſuch reſtleſs and ambitious ſpirits, that prompted Darius to make war on the Scythian barbarians that inhabited the frozen regions between the Danube and the Tanais. The character of this ſingular people has continued unaltered from age to age. They perambulate, rather than poſſeſs, a country of immenſe extent. Exerciſing no tillage, they claim no property in land: they hold in

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abhorrence and ſcorn the confinement of a fixed habitation, roaming perpetually, with their families and herds, from paſture to paſture, over their boundleſs wilderneſs. In this vagabond life, not to treſpaſs on the property of each other is almoſt their only law. Their ſimple deſires are limited to food which their herds ſupply, and to clothing, which the extreme cold of their climate renders peculiarly neceſſary; for the whole extent of their country being far removed from the balmy influence of the ocean, and, though moſtly plain, yet of extraordinary elevation above the level of the ſea, being bounded even on the ſouth by ſnowy mountains, while the tract northward is a continued continent of ſnow, their winters are of a ſeverity unknown under the ſame latitude in other parts of the globe. Nature has therefore ſupplied the brute animals of thoſe regions with a peculiar warmth of covering. To man is only given ability to wreſt ſuch boons from the inferior creation. The ingenuity of the antient Scythians went thus far. Neceſſity drove them to the uſe of thoſe furs for clothing, which are become ſuch an extenſive article of uſeleſs, perhaps often pernicious, luxury in milder climates. Such a country, with ſuch inhabitants, would little invite

invite the ambition of others; but the Scythians, inſtinctively fond of wandering, were likely to be inſpired with a deſire to wander among the poſſeſſions of their civilized and opulent neighbours; and though their manner of life reſembles that of animals, yet it has always been that of gregarious animals. They migrate in ſuch multitudes, that their progreſſion is ſcarcely reſiſtible. War was, moreover, peculiarly their delight; humanity and pity were totally aliens to their warfare. Scalping was practiſed by them nearly in the ſame manner as by the American Indians. None could claim his ſhare of plunder, who had not an enemy's head to preſent to his chief. The ſcalp then became the warrior's favourite ornament for his own perſon, and that of his horſe: the number he poſſeſſed decided his reputation and his rank. Without this teſtimonial of military merit, none could be admitted to their principal feaſts; where, as among our Scandinavian anceſtors, probably their deſcendants, the ſkulls of ſlain enemies were their drinking cups *.

THRICE, in very early times, theſe ferocious

* Juſtin. Herod. Mitford's Hiſt. Greece, p. 288.

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vagabonds are ſaid to have over-run the fineſt provinces of Aſia: but their irruptions had more the effect of an inundation or a hurricane, than of an expedition deviſed and conducted by human policy. The devaſtation was tranſitory; the barbarous invaders retreated into their deſerts, and Aſia reſumed its former flouriſhing and opulent ſtate.

Expedition of Darius againſt the Scythians.

THE expedition of Darius againſt the Scythians, was ſaid to have been undertaken to puniſh theſe roaming barbarians for their inveſion of Aſia about a hundred years before. Immenſe preparations were made; and, with an army, as it is ſaid, of ſeven hundred thouſand men, Darius traverſed Aſia Minor, croſſed the Thracian Boſphorus, ravaged Thrace, and arrived on the banks of the Danube. Meanwhile a fleet of ſix hundred ſail left the Aſiatic coaſt, and paſſing the narrow ſeas which joined the Egean to the Euxine, coaſted in a northern direction the ſhores of the latter, entered the mouth of the Danube, and ſailed along that river until they joined the army. The Danube was paſſed by the uſual expedient of a bridge of boats, which was built by the aſſiſtance of the fleet, conſiſting chiefly of Ionians, who were left to guard the work of their hands againſt

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against the dangers of the elements, and the destructive rage of the barbarians *.

This formidable army entered the vast wilderness of Scythia, and found no enemy to oppose their force. The Scythians retreated before them, according to their custom, when their territories were invaded, filling up the wells and springs, and laying waste the country. Want of subsistence soon obliged Darius to retire towards more cultivated regions. Then the Scythians, collecting their strength, pressed upon his rear. Their mode of fighting resembled that of the modern Tartars. They combated from their horses; skilful and daring in skirmishes, but incapable of order or discipline, they defeated an enemy in detail, continually haraſſing and cutting off detached parties, without ever coming to a general engagement. The Persian cavalry shrunk from the impetuosity of the Scythian charge; but the Scythians could make no impression upon the compact body of the Persian foot. A retreat through such a country, in presence of a superior cavalry, was difficult and dangerous. Darius marched towards the Danube. A strong detachment of the Scythians, arriving

* Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 1.

at that river before him, preſſed the Ionians, who had been left to guard the bridge, to break it down and retire to their own country. By theſe means they hoped to revenge the invaſion of the Perſians, by confining them, without reſource, in an inhoſpitable deſert. Miltiades, the Athenian, prince or tyrant of the Thracian Cherſoneſe, was eager to embrace ſo favourable an opportunity of ſhaking off the Perſian yoke. The other chiefs of the Grecian cities liſtened with pleaſure to his propoſals. Though they held their authority under the protection of Darius, they preferred the recovery of national independence to the preſervation of perſonal dignity. Hyſtæus, tyrant of Miletus, was alone averſe to this bold reſolution. He repreſented to the Ionian chiefs, that their own intereſt was intimately connected with the ſafety of Darius; that if, by the deſtruction of his army, the Perſian empire ſhould fall, the Greeks would immediately diſcover their partiality for republican government, reaſſume liberty, and expel them from their governments. The opinion of Hyſtæus prevailed, and the Perſians repaſſed the Danube. Defended by that river from the attacks of the enemy, they continued their march unmoleſted to the Helleſpont.

Leaving

Leaving a charge in Thrace, under Megabazus, he returned to Asia, and took up his quarters in Sardis. CHAP. VI.

MODERN historians have represented this expedition of Darius as disgraceful to his name, and destructive to the empire; but it did not affect his reputation or his consequence in his own age, and among the nations of antiquity. On his return, the Grecian colonies in Ionia and Eolia vied in paying their court to him. The army left under Megabazus subdued the Thracians, and extended the Persian dominion to the borders of Macedonia. Amyntas, king of that country, acknowledged subjection to the king of Persia, by the delivery of earth and water; the Grecian islands also began to feel the influence, and submit to the power of Darius.

UNSUCCESSFUL in his attempts to subdue the Scythians, Darius resolved to extend his arms towards the east; and with this view equipped a fleet on the river Indus, the command of which he gave to Scylax, a Grecian. Scylax accordingly sailing down the Indus, entered the Red-sea by the straits of Babel-Mandel; and, on the thirtieth month from his setting out, landed in Egypt, near the bottom of the gulph. From thence returning to Susa,

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Susa, he gave Darius an account of his discoveries and observations: the Persian monarch entering India at the head of a numerous army, added that vast and opulent country to his dominions. This important acquisition, which closed the long series of Persian conquests in Asia, was formed into the twentieth satrapy, or great division of the empire.

FROM this period the history of the Persians becomes blended with that of the Greeks.

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The Government, Laws, Cuſtoms, Manners, and Religion of the PERSIANS.

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WE have mentioned that Dejoces introduced deſpotic government among the Medes. His example was imitated by his ſucceſſors; and when Media became an acceſſion to the Perſian power, the new monarch adopted the ſame policy, and confirmed that abſolute authority which has ever been eſtabliſhed in Aſia. The ſovereigns of the eaſt have aſſumed, in all ages, the title of King of Kings; a title expreſſive of the nature, as well as of the greatneſs of their power. The various provinces ſubjected to them, though acknowledging their univerſal dependence on the emperor, were yet ſubject to their particular princes, who, while they paid their appointed tribute during peace, and furniſhed their contingent of troops in the time of war, were permitted, in their antient territories, to retain the power, and to diſplay the pomp, of royalty.

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royalty. Materials are wanting to explain in full detail the ſyſtem of Perſian government; but many circumſtances contribute to ſhew that it was conſtituted with much political wiſdom; and in the revolutions of oriental empire, thoſe nations to whom deſpotic government appears congenial, never ſeem to have been ſo happy as under Cyrus and his ſucceſſors. The whole empire was divided into large provinces, each under the ſuperintendency of a great officer, entitled ſatrap, to whom all governors of towns and ſmaller diſtricts were reſponſible. To prevent abuſes which might be made of ſo extenſive authority, the king reſerved to himſelf the nomination of the ſuperior, as well as of the inferior governors: the latter depended immediately on the prince himſelf, and were not removable at the pleaſure of the ſatraps. Theſe two powers thus became a check upon each other, and co-operated in the adminiſtration of the government, without diſturbing its tranquillity. It was a political maxim introduced by Cyrus, and continued by his ſucceſſors, no leſs remarkable for its liberality than its utility, to appoint the ſon of the conquered prince to be governor of the conquered country; always, however, under the ſuperintending controul

troul of a Perſian ſatrap *. To facilitate intercourſe and communication between the diſtant parts of this extenſive empire, and to connect the capital with the remoteſt provinces, couriers were appointed, who travelled day and night to carry diſpatches, and an eſtabliſhment was made that in ſome degree reſembled the modern poſt. The buſineſs of government alone, without any regard to commercial intercourſe, or the convenience of individuals, was the object of this regulation, which does honour to the memory of Cyrus, and ſhews that he knew how to govern as well as to conquer kingdoms. This appears to have been the firſt model of that inſtitution, which, through the liberal ſyſtem of European politics, and the aſcendency which commerce has acquired in the affairs of nations, now extends communication ſo wonderfully over the world. CHAP. VII.

THE king of Perſia, according to the antient cuſtom of his country, was wont to viſit from time to time all the provinces of the empire, or, when prevented by important buſineſs, to ſend commiſſioners for that purpoſe, who were called the *eyes* and *ears* of the prince.

* Herodot. lib. i. cap. 154.

The

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The internal improvements, as well as the external ſecurity of the ſatrapies, came within the ſphere of their policy: the ſecurity and embelliſhment of towns and cities, the reparation of highways and bridges, the improvement of agriculture, and the encouragement of manufactures, were the important objects of their care and inſpection. Theſe regulations and attentions indicate a people who had made conſiderable progreſs in the art of government, and were worthy of a king who had a monitor to repeat to him every morning, "Ariſe, prince, and think of the functions for which Oromaſdes has placed thee on the throne."

Revenues.

THE care of the revenues was looked upon as an important object of political œconomy. Every province had its ſeparate treaſury, in which all contributions were depoſited. During the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyſes, voluntary contributions were made by the people for the ſupport of the king and the expences of government. Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, was the firſt who, by impoſing annual taxes, regulated the revenue of the empire: the ſum total of the revenue under this monarch, according to the computation of Herodotus, amounted to four-

teen

teen thouſand five hundred and ſixty Eubæic talents, equal to three millions ſix hundred and ſeventy five thouſand pounds ſterling. Conſidering the relative value of money in antient and in modern times, this vaſt revenue amounted to thirty millions of our currency. Beſides this ſtated income, the Perſian monarchs might, on every neceſſary occaſion, demand the contributions and ſervices of their ſubjects. CHAP. VII.

BESIDES theſe tributes, which were paid in money, there were alſo contributions paid in kind, as in the early hiſtory of the European kingdoms. Armenia ſent annually to the king of Perſia twenty thouſand young colts. The provinces of Cyrene and Barca were, beſides the ordinary taxes, compelled to furniſh ſuch a quantity of corn as was ſufficient to ſupply a hundred and twenty thouſand men. The ſatrapy of Babylon maintained the king and his court during four months of the year. The Perſians were exempted from impoſts of every kind, and no tributes were exacted but from the conquered nations.

THE kings of Perſia, like the other ſovereigns of the eaſt, were accuſtomed to adminiſter juſtice in their own perſons *. To qua- Laws.

* Joſeph. Antiq. Juſt. lib. ii. cap. 3.

lify

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lify them for the diſcharge of this important office, they were inſtructed at an early age in the knowledge of the laws and cuſtoms of their country; and in the public ſchools youth were taught equity, juſtice, and truth, in the ſame manner as rhetoric and philoſophy are ſtudied in modern times.

THE ordinary judges were taken from the claſs of old men; the experience and maturity of fifty years were deemed eſſential to the diſcharge of this awful employment. They held their office for life, and were called royal judges, ſome of them attending the king wherever he went, and others adminiſtering juſtice at ſtated times in the different provinces. The impartiality and integrity of judicial proceedings were objects of royal attention. Cambyſes having condemned to death a judge who had ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted, ordered his ſkin to be ſtretched on the tribunal where he had given judgment, and where the ſon of that judge was to ſucceed his father. Maſters were prohibited from putting their ſlaves to death *. The power of life and death, which fathers exerciſed over their children among many nations of antiquity, was miti-

* Herod. lib. i. cap. 137.

gated

gated in Perſia, nor were parents permitted to exerciſe it for ſlight faults or a firſt offence. In trials, the perſon accuſed was confronted with the accuſer, who, in caſe of a falſe accuſation, was condemned to the puniſhment which the other would have ſuffered had he been found guilty. Firſt offences were ſeldom puniſhed with death. Before ſentence was pronounced, the whole tenor of the offender's life was examined, and if his virtues greatly preponderated, the rigour of the law was ſoftened; it being unjuſt, in the opinion of the Perſians, that a ſingle crime ſhould obliterate the good actions of a meritorious life. From the legiſlation of the Perſians it appears, that they were diſtinguiſhed from the nations of the eaſt by their humanity as well as by their valour.

Manners and cuſtoms.

THE hardy inhabitants of the mountainous regions in Aſia have always held a decided ſuperiority over the poſſeſſors of the fertile plains. The Aſſyrians, who extended their conqueſts from the Indus to the Mediterranean, came from the mountains of Atouria. The Chaldeans were originally from the ſame countries; and the Perſians, whoſe conqueſts fill the page of hiſtory, and who have given their name to a large diviſion of Aſia, deſcended from the

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hilly and rocky regions of Elam. Originally a people of ſoldiers, their character was warlike, and their education prepared them for military achievements. The firſt leſſons of a Perſian were to manage a horſe, to uſe the bow with dexterity, and to ſpeak truth. This moral virtue is naturally connected with the character of a military nation; falſhood and cowardice, valour and veracity, have a natural and intimate connection, as appears from European as well as Aſiatic manners. From the age of twenty-five to fifty years, the Perſians were obliged to ſerve in the army. It was their practice always to wear their ſwords, and to go armed, in the time of peace as well as of war. In eating they were temperate and abſtemious, but indulged in wine, and during the banquet unfolded their minds and concerted their counſels. On the following morning the reſolutions of the paſt night were reviewed, and, after calm deliberation, were rejected or adopted. The ordinary arms of the Perſians were a ſcymitar, a dagger which hung in their belt, and two javelins or lances, the one to throw at a diſtance, the other to engage with in cloſe combat. On the head they wore a tiara, which was proof againſt all kinds of offenſive weapons; on the

body a coat of mail wrought in the likeneſs of ſcales; their thighs were defended with cuiſſes; and their ſhields or targets were of wicker. CHAP. VII.

THE craggy mountains which they inhabited were unfavourable to the rearing of horſes, and the poverty of their circumſtances was ill adapted to maintain them in great numbers. While all the other nations of Upper Aſia, except the Scythians, fought on horſeback, the Perſian armies were compoſed chiefly of infantry. In all ages the moſt celebrated victories have been obtained by this mode of fighting. The Grecians under Alexander, the Romans under the republic, as well as the northern barbarians who over-ran and ſubdued the Roman empire, became maſters of the world chiefly through the firm intrepidity of their infantry; and there is reaſon to believe, that one great cauſe of the Perſian conqueſts was not their acquaintance with horſemanſhip, but their ignorance of that art, which obliged them to employ the determined valour of foot ſoldiers againſt the deſultory aſſaults of horſemen. While their neighbours, truſting to the ſwiftneſs of their ſteeds, employed the feeble efforts of diſtant hoſtility, the Perſians fought hand to hand, each man cloſely engaging with his foe.

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Their chiefs ſeldom appeared in public but on horſeback; and in this manner held their aſſemblies, viſited their friends, and tranſacted all their public and private affairs. When they went on any military expedition, the women always attended the camp, according to the uniform cuſtoms of the eaſt. In the time of action the king was always in the centre; and when the ſignal was given by ſound of trumpets, it was followed by an univerſal ſhout of the whole army. The royal banner was a ſpread eagle of gold carried on the point of a long ſpear. They did not employ ſtratagems in war, and fought no advantages but what were owing to their valour. They never fought in the night, unleſs attacked by the enemy, nor marched before the riſing of the ſun. Duels, or ſingle combats, were frequent among them; and they ſettled their private quarrels by the deciſion of the ſword.

By their continual exerciſe of hunting they prepared themſelves for the toils of war. They never laid aſide their ſwords, quivers, and bows, but when they went to repoſe, and had them even then always ready at hand. As ſoon as they attained the age of bearing arms, they were obliged to enter themſelves on the liſt

list of soldiers. In time of war they were all bound, on pain of death, unless disabled by age or disease, to appear under their respective standards, and attend the king in his expeditions *. CHAP. VII.

POLYGAMY and concubinage were permitted by their laws, as among all the nations of the east. Respect to the aged, particularly to parents, was held a virtue of indelible obligation. The love of truth strongly characterized their manners; it was held infamous to lye, as well as to live upon credit, because meanness and falshood seemed to be inseparable from such a life. Herodotus affirms, from his own certain knowledge, that these customs prevailed among the Persians: but the character and manners of the nation which had conquered under Cyrus were not exempted from change and corruption. Of all the antient nations, the Persians, according to Herodotus, were the most disposed to adopt the customs of their neighbours. They soon preferred the dress and the arms of the Medes to their own. After they had conquered Egypt, they assumed the armour of the Egyptians; and when they became acquainted with the Greeks, they imi-

*Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxiii. Strabo, lib. xv. Herod. lib. i. and iv.

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tated the worſt of their vices. There was ſcarcely any direction of human depravity which they might not acquire from the univerſal licentiouſneſs and corruption of Babylon. In the ſpace of fifty-two years, that intervened between the taking of that capital and the battle of Marathon, the ſpirit and manners of the Perſians had changed; the hardy and intrepid warriors who had conquered Aſia, were themſelves ſubdued by the vices of that luxurious city.

The religion of the Perſians.

THE religion of the antient Perſians is valuable for its intrinſic excellence, venerable for its high antiquity, and worthy of admiration for having been preſerved in uncorrupted purity for more than two thouſand years. Two ſyſtems of religion, from time immemorial, had prevailed in Aſia; that of the Sabians, who worſhipped images; and that of the magians, who venerated fire. The followers of the former conſidered the ſun, moon, and ſtars, as the habitations of celeſtial intelligences, who animated thoſe orbs, and were the cauſes of all their motions. The planets being the neareſt to them of all the heavenly bodies, and generally believed to have the greateſt influence on this world, divine worſhip was directed to them. Here began the idolatry of the antient

tient world. They firſt adored their divinities in the orbs which they inhabited, which they conſidered as a kind of temples to the inviſible intelligences by which they were moved; and, in offering their devotions to any of their gods, directed their worſhip towards the planet in which, after their conſecration, they believed that their reſpective divinities condeſcended to dwell in a myſterious manner. The ſun, and the planets, under the names of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana, were the firſt or greater gods among the antient polytheiſts. This Sabian ſuperſtition originated in Chaldea, as I have formerly mentioned, and from thence ſpread itſelf over a great part of Aſia. This ſect ſtill ſubſiſts in the eaſt, under the antient name of Sabians, and has procured much influence and credit among the eaſtern people, for giving birth to the moſt celebrated of their aſtronomers.

DIRECTLY oppoſite to theſe were the opinions of the magians, which formed the other great diviſion of oriental religion. Abhorring images and idolatry, they worſhipped God only, under the ſymbol of fire. They held the doctrine of two principles; one the cauſe of all good, the other of all evil. The former, repre-

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ſented by light, they adored under the name of Ormuzd, called Oromaſdes by the Greeks; the latter, imaged by darkneſs, they worſhipped by the title of Ahriman or Arimanius. When they implored bleſſings for themſelves or their friends, they ſupplicated the author of good; when they imprecated deſtruction to their enemies, they invoked the artificer of evil. Hence, when Xerxes prayed that his enemies might always baniſh their beſt and braveſt citizens, as the Athenians had done Themiſtocles, he addreſſed his prayer to Arimanius, not to Oromaſdes *. In alluſion to theſe opinions is the ſublime addreſs to Cyrus in the prophecy of Iſaiah †: "I am the Lord, and there is NO GOD beſides me. I girded thee, though thou haſt not known me; that they may know from the riſing of the ſun, and from the weſt, that there is NONE ELSE. I form the LIGHT, and create DARKNESS; I make PEACE, and create EVIL: I the Lord do all theſe things."

ZERDUSHT ‡, or Zoroaſter, who lived in the reign of Darius Hyſtaſpes, is ſaid to have

* Plutarch in Themiſtoc.

† Iſa. chap. xlv. ver. 5, 6, 7.

‡ Zerduſht, in the Perſian language, ſignifies an obſerver of the heavens.

reformed

reformed the magian religion. Smerdis had aſcended the Perſian throne after the death of Cambyſes, by the influence of the magi. The impoſture was detected; Smerdis was put to death; a general ſlaughter was made of the magi or prieſts; that ſect began to decline, and Sabianiſm to prevail. But the affection which the people bore to the principles in which they had been educated, and the religion of their fathers, rendered the revival or reformation of it an object not only eaſy but deſirable. Zoroaſter, who acted in concert with Hyſtaſpes, the father of Darius, and ſuperintendant of the magi, has ever been celebrated as the prophet of the Perſians.

THE chief reformation which he made in the magian theology was in its firſt principle. Formerly they had held the co-eternity of two ſupreme cauſes, the author of good and the author of evil, repreſented by light and darkneſs: he introduced a principle ſuperior to both; one ſupreme God, independent and ſelf-exiſting. This divine being, according to the Perſian ſage, originally created only light, or good; but that darkneſs or evil reſulted from it as its defect, and followed it as the ſhadow does the body. Under the firſt cauſe were two inferior, though powerful, agents, the

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the angel of light, and the angel of darkneſs; diffuſing good and evil in their reſpective regions. Theſe are to remain in a perpetual conflict till the end of the world, when there ſhall be a general reſurrection, and a day of judgment, in which juſt retribution ſhall be rendered to all according to their works. After which the evil angel and his followers ſhall go into the regions of everlaſting darkneſs, to receive the puniſhment due to their crimes, while the good angel and his diſciples ſhall aſcend to the manſions of everlaſting light, to enjoy the reward of their virtues: the final ſeparation will then be made, and light and darkneſs be no more mixed to all eternity *.

ZOROASTER, reforming not only the principle but the mode of worſhip, ordered fire-temples to be built throughout the Perſian dominions. Hitherto they had erected their altars on the tops of hills, and on high places in the open air, where often, by rain and tempeſts, the ſacred fire was extinguiſhed: to prevent this, temples were built over their altars, and their religious ceremonies performed without interruption. They conſidered fire

* Diogenes Laert. in Præmio. Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir. Hyde, Relig. vol. Perſ. Prideaux.

as

as the ſymbol and the reſidence of the divine nature; but not as the divine nature itſelf. The ſun being the pureſt and moſt perfect fire, as well as the nobleſt production of the Deity, they regarded as the viſible throne of his glory, and the Shechinah of the divine preſence. Hence, in paying their adorations, they turned their faces towards this luminary, called by them Mithra, particularly at the time of his riſing. The ſun, however, was no more than the Rebla or point of adoration to the Perſians, as the temple of Jeruſalem was to the Jews, or the city of Mecca to the Mahommedans.

A RELIGIOUS reverence for fire has prevailed over a great part of the world. An ever-burning fire was preſerved in the temple of Veſta. The antient Germans, the Celtæ, the Peruvians, and other nations of America, annexed the idea of ſomething ſacred and divine to this element. A perpetual flame aſcended on the altar of burnt offerings at Jeruſalem; God revealed himſelf to Moſes in a burning buſh, and announced his preſence to the hoſt of Iſrael by a pillar of fire.

THERE were three orders of prieſts among the antient Perſians; the ordinary and officiating; ſuperintendents of theſe; and the Archimagus, or chief prieſt. Their public worſhip

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ſhip was thus performed. In every pyreum, or fire-temple, an altar was erected, on which the holy fire, which they believed came down from heaven, was kept perpetually burning by the prieſts, who watched it day and night. When the people aſſembled to their devotions, the prieſt put on a white veſtment and a mitre, with a covering of gauze before his mouth, that he might not breathe on the ſacred element. He then read certain prayers out of the ſacred books, in a tone ſcarcely audible, holding in his left hand ſmall twigs of a conſecrated tree, which, as ſoon as the ſervice was over, he threw into the fire.

FROM the near reſemblance which this ſublime ſyſtem of theology bears to the ſacred ſcriptures, it has been ſuppoſed * that Zoroaſter was a diſciple of the Jewiſh prophets. Whatever foundation may be for this conjecture, it is certain that the religion of the Perſians continued infinitely ſuperior to the groſs ſuperſtitions of their idolatrous neighbours. Adoring one God, they believed him to be omnipreſent, and held it impious and profane to repreſent the inviſible Majeſty of heaven by images or ſtatues, or to circumſcribe the Lord of the univerſe within the boundaries of tem-

* Hyde, cap. ii.

ples.

ples. Actuated by a zeal againſt idolatry, they overturned the religious monuments and edifices of the Greeks, as unworthy of the Deity. The tolerating ſpirit of the Greeks and Romans aroſe from polytheiſm, not from philoſophy; and perhaps from miſtaken principles of theiſm the Perſians became intolerant. Hence proceeded the outrages of Cambyſes in Egypt, and of Xerxes in Greece.

In the decline of their empire, one of their princes introduced the worſhip of foreign divinities, particularly of Venus; but it was condemned by the magi, who remained firm to this great article of their faith, *there is but one* God, and took care to tranſmit it religiouſly to their poſterity *.

After the lapſe of ſo many centuries, the revolutions of empire, and the fall of nations, the religion of Zoroaſter is ſtill preſerved in the eaſt in its purity; and the modern Parſes adore the ſame object of worſhip, with the ſame rites and ceremonies, as was done by their forefathers in the time of Darius Hiſtaſpes. Antient and modern authors, who have made the Perſians the ſubjects of record, have always repreſented theſe as their genuine religious tenets. Herodotus, the firſt profane

* Hyde, cap. ii.

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hiſtorian who makes mention of this celebrated people, notwithſtanding the prejudices of polytheiſm with which he was tinctured, gives a deſcription of their theology, which every ſubſequent account of antient authors, and all the reſearches of the modern, tend only to confirm. "Theſe I have found to be the religious tenets of the Perſians *. In celebrating their religious worſhip they employed neither altars, nor images, nor temples; they even derided the folly of ſuch practices in others, not believing, like the Greeks, that the nature of the gods reſembled that of men. On the ſummits of the higheſt mountains they ſacrificed to the Divinity, and the whole circle of the heavens they ſuppoſed to be the reſidence of God. In their addreſſes to the Deity they are not permitted to ſolicit for themſelves individually the protection of Heaven, the prayer muſt extend to the whole Perſian nation." The account given by Plutarch † of the doctrines of Zoroaſter is conformable to this deſcription, and correſponds to the religion of the antient patriarchs. In the ſacred commentary of the Perſian rites we have the following

* De Iſid. et Oſir. † Lib. i. cap. 131, 132.

memorable

memorable words aſcribed to the philoſophical reformer of their theology. "God is the firſt of beings, unbegotten, incorruptible, eternally without parts or dimenſions, diſſimilar to every created exiſtence, the beſtower of all good, not to be bribed by preſents or intreaties, infinite in goodneſs and wiſdom, the parent of equity and juſtice *." In modern times an European philoſopher † enquired of the Perſians ſettled in India, "at what ſeaſons, and with what ceremonies, they adored the ſun?" They anſwered, "that they never adored the ſun, nor paid divine honours to that luminary, to the moon, or to the planets, but only turned themſelves to the ſun when praying, becauſe they conſidered it to be the pureſt kind of fire."

THEIR morality was in the ſame ſtrain with their theology, as we may judge from "The Wiſdom of all Ages," a book aſcribed to one of their earlieſt monarchs. "Great kings are gods upon earth, who in power, wiſdom, and goodneſs, are as much ſuperior to the reſt of men, as God is ſuperior to them. Let not their high rank however lead them to behave with ſeverity to their ſubjects. The thunder

* Euſeb. Prepar. Evang. lib. i. cap. ult.

† An intimate friend of Dr. Hyde's.

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is heard but ſeldom, the ſun ſhines every day. For one inſtance of vengeance, God beſtows ten thouſand tokens of his favour. Kings ought to imitate him by doing good. Let them recollect, that though it is in their power to take away life, it is not in their power to reſtore it. Miniſters are inſtruments in the hand of monarchs, but it is to theſe that the people muſt have recourſe when their rights are violated. Let a king be careful in the choice of his miniſters, for laying his maladminiſtration to their charge will have as little effect in calming his enraged people, as for a murderer to plead in his vindication, that it was his ſword and not himſelf which ſlew his neighbour."

Prieſts.

THE duties preſcribed to the magi, or prieſts, were calculated for an order of men who were to give inſtructions, and ſet an example to the people. They were enjoined to obſerve the rites preſcribed in the liturgy of Zoroaſter; to keep their eyes from coveting what belonged to another; to have a ſacred regard to truth; to apply to the exerciſes of devotion, without intermeddling with worldly affairs; to be ready to forgive injuries, and to ſhew themſelves patterns of meekneſs; to ſpend the greater part of their time in the temple, and

to

to obſerve the law of Zoroaſter without addition or diminution *. CHAP. VII.

THE following precepts related to the chief prieſt. He ought to preſerve himſelf ſpotleſs, becauſe God had choſen him to be holy: he ſhould take tythes from the laity, but only as the almoner of the Deity, that he may divide among the poor the tribute paid by the rich: he ought not only to be well ſkilled in the law, but likewiſe in every ſcience, becauſe it is his duty to inſtruct all the profeſſors of his religion; he ought to make it his ſtudy to diſtinguiſh truth from error; he ſhould fear God only, and hate nothing but ſin.

AN order of prieſts adhering to theſe regulations, muſt have been worthy miniſters of their religion, and valuable members of the community. By their ſacerdotal functions they would ſtrengthen morality with the ſanctions of religion, and employ their influence over the minds of the people for the public good. But there is a difference between the maxims of ſpeculative wiſdom, and the conduct of actual life. The manners of the Perſian prieſts were ſimple and auſtere; they went plainly dreſſed; they ſlept on the ground; their food was herbs or bread; and they paſſ-

* Lord's Relig. Perſ.

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ed much of their time in their devotions. But while they looked to heaven, they did not forget the affairs of earth. Like the prieſts of Egypt and Chaldea, they employed the aſcendency which they had acquired over the imagination and paſſions of men to promote their own power and the intereſt of the order. They ſuperintended the education of the kings and great men; no important affair was determined without their advice; and Pliny aſſures us, that even in his time they commanded the great king *. As their credit and conſequence depended chiefly on their knowledge, they kept it a myſtery, and no foreigner was initiated in their ſecrets without the permiſſion of the prince; a favour which was granted to Themiſtocles, when he ſerved the Perſians againſt his own country.

In the hiſtory of all the nations which I have hitherto contemplated, the influence of ſuperſtition, and the power of the prieſthood, appear aſtoniſhing. The Egyptian, Chaldean, and Perſian prieſts, formed a ſeparate order of men, and had ſeparate intereſts, diſtinct from thoſe of the community. Being the miniſters of religion, the depoſitaries of ſcience, the counſellors of kings, and the oracles of the

* Plin. lib. xxx. cap. 1.

people,

people, the abuſe of their power became frequent and unavoidable. That authority, derived, or pretended to be derived, from Heaven, which is ſo beneficial to ſociety when employed in ſupporting the laws, and preſerving or reforming the public morals, becomes baneful and pernicious when it is made the inſtrument of human paſſions and intereſted purpoſes.

THE Perſian religion, notwithſtanding its refinement by Zoroaſter, was ſoon corrupted by the prieſts, who, from political motives, and to gratify the groſs conceptions of the multitude, blended it with a variety of puerile and abſurd ceremonies, that encumbered and diſgraced its original ſimplicity and beauty. The ſages of antiquity, who diſcerned the principles of true religion themſelves, ſeldom heſitated to gratify the people in their natural bias to ſuperſtition. To eſtabliſh in the community at large, and among all orders of men in the ſtate, the worſhip of a *pure Spirit* in ſpirit and in truth, to recommend ſanctity and virtue, purity of heart, and integrity of life, as the ſole means of acceptance with the Deity, was reſerved to that religion which was revealed from Heaven, and is contained in the volumes of inſpiration.

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General Reflections on the Riſe and Progreſs of Aſiatic Governments.

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ALL nations have been barbarous before they were civilized. The early kingdoms eſtabliſhed in the eaſt retained the marks of ſuch an original. From the beginning of their hiſtory we find them engaged in military expeditions, but they conducted theſe in the manner of the barbarous hordes that wander over Scythia or Tartary. They did not commence and proſecute hoſtilities with a view to augment their territory or extend their dominion, but, like roaming tribes, by ſudden eruptions, and for the ſake of plunder. They ſallied forth to depredation, not to conqueſt; they took the field without preparation, and became victorious without plan or project. They drew the ſword before they had fixed on the foe with whom they were to engage. When Nebuchadnezzar marched againſt Jeruſalem, he knew not whither he bent his courſe. Having come to a place where two roads

roads met, he conſulted fortune on which ſide he ſhould turn his arms, and the lot fell upon Jeruſalem. CHAP. VIII.

THEIR armies were not a regular body of ſoldiers, but a confuſed multitude, without order. The whole nation went to war. In theſe diſorderly mobs, the women and children equalled the number of the combatants, and followed them to the field like thoſe of a Scythian band. No diſciplined troops were kept in pay. The ſoldier received no reward for his ſervices, but the fame of the adventure, and his ſhare of the booty. Ages paſſed in Aſia before an army was divided into regular corps. Cyaxares, according to Herodotus, was the author of this improvement. The Aſſyrians, Chaldeans, and the Perſians, in the early period of their hiſtory, carried on their military expeditions, like the Scythian hordes in their neighbourhood, by ſudden incurſions, and for the ſake of booty. War, the great cauſe of ruin to modern kingdoms, was a ſource of riches in the eaſt.

As the armies of the eaſt conſiſted of a promiſcuous multitude, not divided into corps, nor reduced to calculation, hence the exaggerated and incredible accounts of the millions that accompanied Ninus and Semiramis.

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Nothing is ſo fallacious as to calculate numbers by the eye. The vague compariſon of a great multitude to the ſtars of heaven, or the ſands on the ſea-ſhore, is a ſimilar, though indefinite, expreſſion of ignorance and uncertainty.

THE firſt armies were compoſed of infantry, as we find among rude tribes in every part of the world. By degrees man extends his dominion over the inferior animals, acquires the art of taming them, and converting them to his uſe. It would ſoon occur to warlike tribes, that they might be employed with advantage in battle. In peruſing the hiſtories of different nations, we find that horſes, elephants, camels, dogs, and even lions, have been trained to war. Of all animals, the horſe is the moſt proper aſſociate of man, and the apteſt to partake with him in the dangers of the field. What may appear ſingular, the war-chariot has always preceded the uſe of cavalry. Not only the Aſiatics, but the Greeks, the Gauls, and the Britons, rode in chariots of war before cavalry were introduced. When the fact is aſcertained, it will readily occur to the mind, that the moſt natural and obvious method of ſubduing the wildneſs of the horſe, and training him to the purpoſes of man, was by yoking

ing him to a machine of conſiderable weight. This ſuggeſted the idea of chariots, which in their original conſtruction were little more elegant than a cart or a ſledge. To mount one of the ſtrongeſt as well as ſwifteſt of animals, and confide in the impetuous rapidity of his career, is a bolder and more complex operation. It muſt have been alſo attended with leſs difficulty to employ chariots than cavalry in battle. The combatant who mounted the war-chariot was not diſtracted with the care of directing the horſes: a charioteer accompanied him, who performed that office. The attention of the horſeman, who wanted this advantage, muſt neceſſarily have been divided between the care of fighting, and that of managing his horſe.

The art of attacking and defending cities was not unknown in Aſia. The ſieges of Samaria, of Tyre, and of Jeruſalem, recorded by ſacred or profane hiſtorians, throw light on this ſubject. The ordinary method of attacking a place conſiſted in ſurrounding it with trenches and walls, ſo cloſely that none of the inhabitants could make their eſcape. Then they brought their battering-rams, to beat down the gates or the walls. When the breach was made, they attempted the aſſault. To favour

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and facilitate that meaſure, they raiſed terraces, which they lined with archers or ſlingers, to drive the beſieged from the breach.

In defending cities and towns they truſted to the ſtrength and thickneſs of the walls, to the breadth of the ditch that ſurrounded them, to the height of the towers, and the various machines which were employed in darting miſſile weapons, and hurling huge maſſes of ſtone. Theſe means were then ſufficient to enable a place to hold out for a long time. The ſiege of Tyre, by Nebuchadnezzar, laſted thirteen years; and that of Azoth, by Pſammeticus, twenty-nine: theſe facts will not appear ſurpriſing, when we reflect that a ſtrong ſituation, aided by fortifications, in theſe ages, rendered a city impregnable. Beſides, the ſieges of Tyre and Azoth were mere blockades; and ſuch cities could only be reduced by famine; a work difficult to be accompliſhed, as certain ſpaces of ground appropriated to tillage were incloſed within the walls.

In general, the people of Aſia do not ſeem to have ſtruck out many improvements in the military art. They diſcovered no ſkill in chooſing advantageous poſts, in ſeizing favourable poſitions, in drawing the war into a country

try naturally defenſible, in making uſe of defiles, in laying artful ambuſcades, in taking advantage of the diſpoſition of the ground, and reducing an enemy by cutting off his proviſions. Theſe efforts of ingenious invention, and military operations of a more complicated kind, were altogether unknown. Wars were decided in a ſingle campaign: an army never attempted to recover itſelf or rally after a defeat; the gain of a battle drew after it the conqueſt of a country, and decided the fate of a kingdom.

THE conſequences of victory in Aſia were of that dreadful kind which marks the atrocity of antient manners. They exerciſed the rights of conqueſt, without reſpecting the laws of humanity. Though the ſoldiers fought and conquered only for the benefit of their prince, whoſe ſlaves they were; yet in the firſt emotions of ſucceſs they diſcovered all the eagerneſs of avarice, and all the fury of reſentment; acting as if they had been called to puniſh not the enemies of their king, but their own perſonal foes; and as if each man had been entitled to reap the full fruits of his rapacious cruelty. Their early hiſtory is a continued ſeries of barbarity and horror. The object of war was extermination. The effects

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fects of conqueſt were more dreadful than the battle. They ſpared neither age, nor rank, nor ſex. The ſovereign was no more reſpected than the ſubject, or, if a diſtinction was made, it was the former met with a more ignominious fate. This cruel and atrocious ſpirit raged againſt inanimate objects. A conconquering army laid the ſubjected cities in aſhes, deſtroyed the foreſts, blaſted vegetation, and turned the conquered land into a deſert. "To leave none to tell tidings" was an avowed maxim in theſe ages. They who have been accuſtomed to civilized manners, turn aſide the eye from ſuch ſcenes of barbarity and bloodſhed, and are filled with aſtoniſhment and horror, to find man a more cruel monſter than the wolf or the tyger.

The riſe of great kingdoms is the period when ferocity begins to ſoften, and the ſtate of ſociety to improve. Evils in nature tend to cure themſelves. War terminates in conqueſt, which, uniting many nations under one ſovereign, forms by degrees a great and powerful empire on the ruin of petty ſtates. Living in greater ſocieties, men act on a larger ſcale, acquire clearer views of their political intereſts, and form juſter, as well as more generous, maxims of government. The revolutions which take

take place mingle mankind together, and blending their ſentiments and manners, wear off their aſperity, and produce union. When the ſtorm of war has ſpent its rage, an interval of tranquillity takes place. A great kingdom begins to act on different maxims from a ſmall ſtate. Expoſed to the depredation of neighbouring and barbarous tribes, the means of defence are provided, cities are fortified, and a regular army kept in pay. In this manner a nation becomes formidable to its neighbours. The interior parts of a mighty monarchy are no longer expoſed to ravages and devaſtations; driven from the centre, war infeſts only the frontiers. The inhabitants of the country, and of the cities, begin to breathe in ſafety, and turn the ſword into the ploughſhare. The military profeſſion having become diſtinct and ſeparate, the other inhabitants apply to induſtry, and cultivate the arts. From this era the dawnings of civility appear. In ſmall communities, rival tribes, in the neighbourhood of one another, live in a conſtant ſtate of open or concealed war. In a great nation, arms are in the hands of a few; the remainder cultivate the arts of peace; humanity and gentleneſs are introduced into life; and even the ſoldier ſoftens in the neighbourhood of pacific manners.

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manners. A new career is opened for ingenious and active ſpirits to enter. In the boſom of great empires the arts were invented, the ſciences aroſe, and refinement began its courſe.

FROM this period we find a mitigation to the rigours of war. When rival tribes fought from revenge, they gave no quarter, but made a general maſſacre; in the war of a nation againſt a nation, perſonal animoſity and private paſſions are unknown. The conqueror opens his eyes to diſcern his intereſt, and makes a better uſe of his victories: inſtead of putting the conquered enemies to the ſword, he reduces them to ſlavery, and employs them in uſeful labours. From the ſame principle, the victorious armies ceaſed to lay waſte the regions they had ſubdued, as they became ſenſible that a country would be of no value which they had brought to deſolation. Thus ſervitude, the greateſt evil in the modern world, was an alleviation of greater calamities. Avarice and ambition came in aid of humanity, prevented the devaſtation of countries, and put a ſtop to the maſſacre of mankind.

Government.

NOTWITHSTANDING the frequent revolutions and conqueſts that have taken place in Aſia, the eaſtern empires have always been deſpotic.

deſpotic. No government however is a ſyſtem of oppreſſion from the beginning. The progreſs of power, particularly of tyrannical power, is ſlow and gradual. Although there were no fundamental laws in Aſia which controulled the power of the monarch, antient cuſtoms had the force of laws, and were a barrier for ſome time againſt deſpotiſm. But the limits which cuſtoms ſet to ſovereign power are vague and undefined. This obſcurity is favourable to the monarch, who by inſenſible but certain ſteps extends his authority. But as monarchs are at firſt unacquainted with the extent of their own power, and become abſolute only in the courſe of a progreſs, of which they do not foreſee the termination, the governments of Aſia, although deſpotic in the form of adminiſtration, were at the beginning favourable to the ſubject. It was one great object of government, in all the eaſtern empires, to encourage population and agriculture. The original law of the Creator, "increaſe, multiply, and repleniſh the earth," has never been forgotten in Aſia, where, in modern as in antient times, a numerous progeny is looked upon as the chief bleſſing which Heaven can beſtow. The monarch diſtributed rewards annually to ſuch as had

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had many children. To render population a bleſſing, it is neceſſary that the earth ſhould produce ſufficient nouriſhment for its inhabitants. The fine climate and fertile ſoil of Aſia invited its poſſeſſors to avail themſelves of this bounty of nature. To make agriculture flouriſh became an object of public attention and of imperial munificence. The ſatraps, whoſe provinces were beſt cultivated, enjoyed moſt of the royal favour: and ſuperintendents were appointed to inſpect their rural labours and œconomy. Hence the public works and canals at Babylon, ſimilar to thoſe in Egypt, to aſſiſt the fertility of the earth. In ſuch reputation was huſbandry held, that precepts concerning it entered into their books of religion. The ſaint, according to Zoroaſter, was to plant uſeful trees, to deſtroy noxious animals, to convey water to the dry lands, and to follow the labours of agriculture. "He who ſows the ground with care and diligence," ſays the Zendaveſta, "acquires a greater ſtock of religious merit than he could gain by faſting and ſacrifices." In the ſpring of every year a feſtival was celebrated, deſigned to repreſent the primitive equality and the preſent connexion of mankind. The monarch of the eaſt, exchanging the ſplendor of his throne

for more genuine greatneſs, freely mingled with the humbleſt but moſt uſeful of his ſubjects. On that day the huſbandmen were admitted, without diſtinction, to the table of the king and his ſatraps. The ſovereign accepted their petitions, enquired into their grievances, and converſed with them on equal terms. "From your labours," ſaid he, "we receive our ſubſiſtence; you derive your tranquillity from our vigilance; ſince, therefore, we are mutually neceſſary to each other, let us live together like brothers, in concord and love."

A SIMILAR feſtival is obſerved in China to this day. The Chineſe emperor, ſurrounded with his courtiers, and in the preſence of all the people, aſſiſts at the opening of the earth, and holds the plough with his own hands. As agriculture, the true and permanent ſource of wealth and proſperity, was thus honoured and encouraged in Aſia, the mode in which the ſovereigns raiſed their revenues was not oppreſſive to their ſubjects. The firſt proviſion for the monarchs was a part of the territory appropriated to their uſe. The wars in which they engaged became another ſource of their wealth. They drew the ſword as an inſtrument of opulence as well as of conqueſt; they fought

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fought battles in order to poſſeſs the ſpoils of nations; and, without burdening their own ſubjects, enriched themſelves by expeditions to which glory was annexed. The chief object of antient conqueſt, of the achievements of Seſoſtris, of Ninus, and Semiramis, was depredation and plunder; the captives which they carried along with them added to their fame, and augmented their power; the great works, which defended or adorned Egypt and Babylon, were erected by foreigners reduced to ſlavery. Hence the practice of carrying a whole people into captivity, and tranſporting a nation from one country to another. Such was the mode of the Egyptian and Aſſyrian kings. Thus the ten tribes of Iſrael were carried away by the king of Aſſyria, and the Jews by the king of Babylon.

THE mode of exacting the tributes only from the conquered nations, favoured the proſperity of the eaſtern empires. Antient cuſtom did not authorize the ſovereign to levy taxes on the people. Cyrus and Cambyſes contented themſelves with the voluntary ſums which the provinces preſented; and Darius was the firſt monarch of Aſia who, after many precautions, impoſed a tax on his own ſubjects.

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THE manner of living alſo, in the eaſt, during the times which I am now deſcribing, was ſimple and unluxurious. Magnificence and expence were confined to public works, to the temples of the gods, and the palaces of kings. Viewed as the attributes of empire, and the diſtinction of ſovereigns or their ſatraps, they were neither contagious nor ruinous, nor deſcended to the lower orders of the people.

THE wars too, carried on in Aſia, though dreadful, were not laſting. As the eaſtern nations were inexpert in military operations, the ſucceſs of an army was rapid, and one campaign was deciſive. A ſingle victory opened many provinces to the conqueror, and gave a new name to an empire.

HENCE Aſia was populous under the Aſſyrians, Medes, and Perſians, notwithſtanding the wars it ſuſtained, and the revolutions it underwent.

Arts.

THE hiſtory of the arts in Aſia, both in antient and in modern times, preſents us with a very ſingular appearance. In the firſt ages they made a progreſs which aſtoniſhes us by its rapidity; but having attained a certain ſtage, they make no farther advances. Notwithſtanding the duration of their empires,

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neither the Egyptians nor the Aſiatics ever acquired new lights or graces, improved on their early models, or brought their firſt efforts nearer to perfection. Their faculties appear limited to a certain number of ideas, and to a narrow degree of knowledge, beyond which they never aſpire. While in Europe the human genius is continually making advances, and ſtriking out new inventions or improvements, in Aſia it is ſtationary, and continues at the ſame point from which it ſet out. Every thing in the eaſt remains immutable. The inhabitants of Aſia have cultivated the fine arts from the earlieſt times; but a latter age never improved the models of a former; and their laſt efforts are as diſtant from perfection as their firſt. Notwithſtanding the length of time in which they had cultivated aſtronomy, they could never calculate the eclipſes of the ſun or moon; although they had directed their genius to architecture, they never diſcovered the method of caſting an arch. In poetry the ſame tropes and figures conſtantly recur. In painting we find a continual repetition of given forms. All human improvements were arreſted in a certain ſtage of their career. This remarkable phenomenon aroſe probably from the following cauſes.

In

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In all periods of their hiſtory, the Aſiatics have carefully avoided intercourſe with ſtrangers, and treated them with contempt. They remain confined to their own country, and never travel into foreign kingdoms to enlighten their minds, or extend their ideas. The intercourſe of one people with another has the ſame happy effect on the national character, that the intercourſe of individuals has on the perſonal. Prejudices are diſpelled; mutual communications are made; emulation is kindled; and a finer edge given to the faculties of the mind. A ſequeſtered nation, like a ſolitary individual, can never be highly improved or refined. Variety and diverſity of character call forth every intellectual exertion; acuteneſs directs application; reſearch affords materials for philoſophy; fancy embroiders the groundwork of reaſon; taſte becomes the guide of genius; good ſenſe governs the eccentric excurſions of imagination; different tempers of men ſtrike fire by colliſion: thus arts flouriſh, ſcience improves, and individuals and nations, from a diverſity or diſcord of character, find the true harmony of the ſocial ſyſtem. This connection of the Grecian republics with one another contributed to the improvement of arts in Greece.

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The ſame general commerce and intercourſe of modern nations have given the people of Europe a great and a ſudden aſcendency: a variety of national character has occaſioned new combinations of ideas; the rivalry of neighbouring nations has whetted the faculties of men, and opened new veins of ingenuity; the fine fancy of the Italians, the philoſophic genius of the Engliſh, the elegant and correct taſte of the French, and the indefatigable aſſiduity of the Germans, meeting from diſtant quarters, have happily united their common efforts, and, blending together, have accelerated the advancement of every art, whether of utility or of ornament, and carried literary excellence to a degree of improvement and perfection unknown to the antients. The excluſion from the intercourſe of other nations, among the people of the eaſt, fixed eternal obſtacles to the progreſs of the arts and ſciences.

HEREDITARY profeſſions, which were eſtabliſhed in Egypt and in all the eaſt, extinguiſhed that noble emulation and ambition, which is the animating ſoul of genius, and the true principle of excellence in all the arts. Without this impulſe, the human mind languiſhes and loſes its powers. When the ſon follows invariably the profeſſion of his father, he

he remains contented with his original ſtation, and never aſpires to a more elevated or dignified rank. He regards the efforts of his anceſtors not as ſpecimens but as ſtandards of excellence; and, ſubſtituting induſtry for ingenuity, ſtudies to copy and to imitate, without even the deſire to excel. Hence the fine arts become like the mechanical; genius is fettered by precedents; and the waving line of fancy exchanged for a perpetual round of repetitions. The claſs of artiſans were in the laſt and loweſt of their caſts or tribes, and all who compoſed it were held in contempt. A perſon of an inferior tribe, whatever merit he poſſeſſed, could never riſe to a ſuperior. In ſuch a ſtate of ſociety, the ſpirit of emulation, the love of fame, and every ſentiment of ambition, muſt have been extinguiſhed or ſuppreſſed. Hence no painter, ſculptor, or ſtatuary, ever roſe to eminence in Aſia; nor was there any viſible difference to be remarked between the productions of one artiſt and thoſe of another.

A DIFFERENT way of thinking and of acting prevailed in Greece. An eminent painter, an ingenious architect, a ſkilful ſtatuary, enjoyed among the Greeks the higheſt conſideration, and the moſt flattering diſtinctions. The laurel was beſtowed on them by the conſenting

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senting voice of their country; and their names were celebrated by posterity at festivals and on public occasions. A city valued itself as much on having produced an artist celebrated for his talents, as for having given birth to a statesman or a general of the highest merit. To this elegant and liberal turn of mind Greece owed that pre-eminence and superiority in the arts which it enjoyed over other nations. Without this intercourse with other nations, without emulation and ambition, Asia has always continued the same; and the modern history of the arts is a repetition of the antient.

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Of the PHOENICIANS.

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THE nations of antiquity, which I have hitherto deſcribed, were celebrated for their military enterprizes and ſplendid achievements. Hiſtory will now preſent us with a leſs heroic but a more pleaſing ſpectacle; a commercial people, whoſe ingenuity and induſtry ſurmounted the obſtacles which Nature ſeemed to have oppoſed to their progreſs, and rendering the elements ſubſervient to their uſe, connected the moſt remote regions with one another, and opened a new ſpecies of intercourſe and correſpondence among nations.

THE origin of commerce is almoſt coeval with that of ſociety. When tribes had abandoned their wandering life, and ſettled in fixed abodes, their new ſituation gave riſe to new ideas and purſuits. They ſoon found that the ſources from which they had formerly derived their ſubſiſtence, the ſpontaneous fruits of the earth, and the fleſh of wild animals

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killed in the chace, were inſufficient to maintain them, when their numbers were increaſed, and their ſituation more confined. Hence they were obliged to have recourſe to the breeding of tame cattle and to the culture of the earth. Property being eſtabliſhed and aſcertained, men began to exchange one rude commodity for another. While their wants and their deſires were confined within narrow bounds, they had no other idea of traffic but that of ſimple barter. The huſbandman exchanged a part of his harveſt for the cattle of the ſhepherd; the hunter gave the prey which he had caught at the chace for the honey and the fruits which his neighbour had gathered in the woods. Thus commercial intercourſe begins among the members of the ſame community. From the inequality and diverſity with which the productions of nature are diſtributed in different countries, a more general correſpondence was by degrees eſtabliſhed between diſtant tribes and nations. No longer ſatisfied with the neceſſaries, they aſpired to the conveniences, the accommodations, and the luxuries of life. As the objects of commerce became varied and multiplied, they invented a common meaſure or ſtandard of the value of commodities: after different experiments

ments of this kind among different nations, the precious metals, from their rarity, their beauty, their permanency, and facility of tranſportation, were univerſally adopted as the ſymbols of property, and the repreſentatives of all the productions that are formed by Nature, or fabricated by human induſtry. Commerce, thus introduced by the exchange of commodities between individuals, gradually diffuſed itſelf from city to city, and from kingdom to kingdom, till at laſt it comprehended and united the remoteſt regions of the earth, and the moſt diſtant nations of the world.

THE traffic between one country and another was at firſt carried on by land. In the book of Job we read of the troops or caravans that ſet out from Tema and Sheba, two cities of Arabia. Joſeph was ſold by his brethren to a caravan of Iſhmaelitiſh merchants who came from the country of Gilead, and were tranſporting on camels to Egypt their merchandiſe, which conſiſted of ſpices and other articles of luxury. Such is the mode in which trade is at preſent carried on in the Levant.

BUT no very extenſive commerce can be eſtabliſhed between remote nations as long as commodities are tranſported only by land-carriage.

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carriage. Trade is indebted for its higheſt improvements to navigation, which, by exploring unknown ſeas, and diſcovering new countries, has made men acquainted with the productions of various climates, and opened a channel of communication between the different parts of the globe.

EGYPT appears to be peculiarly adopted to maritime commerce. Local circumſtances gave it a pre-eminence, and favoured its progreſs to the dominion of the ſea. The country was every where interſected by canals, to correct the irregularities of the annual inundation, and render its periodical returns beneficial to the operations of agriculture. Though conſtructed ſolely for this purpoſe, they had another unforeſeen but important tendency, to favour experiments in the naval art, and to facilitate, by means of water-carriage, that eaſy and expeditious communication between the ſeveral parts of a great kingdom, on which the benefits of internal trade muſt in a great meaſure depend. It was no leſs favourably ſituated for external commerce: on one ſide, the ſmooth ſurface of the Mediterranean, unagitated by tides, interſperſed at ſmall diſtances with a multitude of iſlands, and embraced by ſurrounding ſhores, invited them,

even in the infant ſtate of navigation, to an intercourſe with Europe and the weſtern parts of Aſia; on the other ſide, the Red-ſea, or Arabian gulph, opened a communication with the Indian continent and the ſouth-eaſt coaſt of Africa; while the iſthmus of Suez preſented by land an extenſive market among the eaſtern nations for the productory manufactures of Egypt, as well as for the ſupply of its inhabitants with timber, metals, and other articles, which their own country did not produce.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe incentives to induſtry, and advantages for trade, the Egyptians never roſe to eminence as a maritime or commercial people. The Mediterranean ſea was infeſted by the piracies of the Greeks, to whom they denied acceſs to their ports. If in the early periods of their monarchy they acquired the ſovereignty of the Red-ſea, and ingroſſed the trade of India, it was of ſhort duration. The fertility and abundance of Egypt rendered the inhabitants independent of other nations. Applying to inland trade, and carrying on commerce by their caravans, they neglected navigation, and ſhut their ports againſt foreigners. Superſtition inſpired them with

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with an averſion to the ſea, which they regarded as the emblem of Typhon their evil genius, and the enemy of Oſiris. To ſuch a degree did the Egyptian prieſts carry this abhorrence, that they held mariners as impious and profane, and avoided all intercourſe with them, after the reſt of the nations had begun to frequent the ocean.

OTHER cauſes contributed to prevent the inhabitants of antient Egypt from applying to navigation. Their country produces no timber proper for the conſtruction of ſhips; their ſea-coaſts are unhealthy, and deficient in good harbours; and the policy of their ſovereigns prohibited intercourſe with ſtrangers. Naucratis, which had a communication with the ſea by the Canopean mouth of the Nile, was the only place at which they were permitted to land.

THE tribes who ſettled on the coaſts of Palæſtine are unqueſtionably the firſt who diſcovered the art of rendering navigation ſubſervient to commerce. Theſe people are mentioned in ſcripture by the name of Canaanites, a word which, in the language of the eaſt, ſignifies *merchants*. They were afterwards known to the Greeks by the name of Phœnicians,

Phœnicians, an appellation probably beſtowed on them from the multitude of palms * which that country produced. CHAP. IX.

PHOENICIA was bounded on the weſt by the Mediterranean, on the eaſt by Syria, on the ſouth by the mountain Anti-Lebanus, and on the north by the iſland of Aratus. The moſt remarkable cities on the Phœnician coaſt were Tripolis, Byblus, Palæbyblus, Berytus, Sidon, Sarepta, and Tyre.

THE inhabitants of this country are ſaid to have migrated at an early period from the northern ſhores of the Arabian gulph. There they had lived in caverns formed by nature in the range of hills that ran along the ſea-coaſt, and ſpread by degrees into the deſerts, where they roamed without a fixed habitation, and found a temporary ſhelter under the branches of the thorn, or in the hollow of a rock. They were unacquainted with agriculture, and had no property in flocks or herds: by the ſea-ſhore they lived on fiſh and marine animals; in the deſert they fed on locuſts, and the ſcanty fruits that grew wild in the woods. From this wretched way of life they were called Horites by the He-

* Φοινιξ.

brews,

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brews, and Troglodites by the Greeks; both appellations alluding to their living in holes and caverns. Held in deteſtation by the other tribes, who were occupied in tending cattle or in cultivating the earth, neceſſity made them bold and inventive. They were the firſt that navigated the Red-ſea on a wretched float made of the branches of trees faſtened together, in order to procure a livelihood by fiſhing *. Such was the origin of a people, whoſe fame extended to the moſt diſtant climates, and has been tranſmitted to ſucceeding ages.

SOME of theſe tribes had ſettled on the coaſt of Palæſtine before the vocation of Abraham †, and inhabited that part of it which extended from the lake of Genezareth to the Mediterranean. Here, immediately after their arrival, they applied themſelves to navigation and commerce, and tranſported Egyptian and Aſſyrian commodities from one place to another in the Mediterranean. In a few ages they eſtabliſhed ſuch an extenſive and flouriſhing trade, and attained ſuch a knowledge of the earth and its inhabitants, as aſtoniſhed the reſt of mankind. Six centuries after the de-

* Plin. lib. vii. cap. 56.

† Gen. xii. 6. xiii. 7.

luge,

luge, the maritime trade, wealth, and power of the Sidonians, had become ſo famous, as to be mentioned by the patriarch Jacob in his laſt benedictions to the twelve tribes *.

THE character and genius of nations ariſe from their phyſical and political ſituation. The abundant fertility of Egypt, the want of timber to build ſhips, and their ſuperſtitious horror at the ſea, prevented the inhabitants from applying to foreign trade, and limited their induſtry to improvements in agriculture and in land traffic. In like manner the barrenneſs of Phœnicia directed the attention of its inhabitants to maritime purſuits. Poſſeſſing only a narrow ſlip of land on the coaſt of the Mediterranean, and dependent for ſubſiſtence on the ſcanty productions of an ungrateful ſoil, the ſea became their only reſource. Fiſhing, their antient mode of ſubſiſtence, had taught them the art of navigation. The foreſts of Lebanon abounded with timber proper for the conſtruction of ſhips. Nature had formed ſeveral commodious harbours on their coaſts, which, for their greater ſecurity, they defended with moles. Their manufactures and exports of native produce

* Gen. xlix. 13.

were

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were not numerous, but they were valuable. The ſea ſand led them to diſcover the ſecret of making glaſs; their ſoil, notwithſtanding its infertility, ſupplied the materials of fine linen; and their ingenuity faſhioned curious productions in wood and metals. From the murex, which they caught in great plenty on their coaſts, they extracted the rich dye of their famous purple, ſo highly valued by all the nations of antiquity. Thus they eſtabliſhed a commerce for articles of taſte and luxury, the moſt productive and beneficial of all.

As the Egyptians and Aſſyrians neglected or deſpiſed external commerce, the Phœnicians became the carriers of all nations, and derived from their own labours thoſe bleſſings which Nature ſeemed to have denied them. Like the Venetians and the Dutch in modern times, neceſſity taught them inventions; deprived of natural advantages, they acquired that ſpirit of ingenious induſtry which is the parent of opulence; and deſtitute of rich poſſeſſions by land, they ſought and obtained the dominion of the ſea.

The form of their government alſo favoured the progreſs and ſucceſs of the Phœnicians in commercial affairs. The ſame ſpirit of freedom

freedom and independence, by which they were actuated in the wilderneſs and on the ſhores of the Arabian gulph, continued to diſtinguiſh them when they lived under the government of princes in walled and fortified cities. Their country, though ſmall, was divided into five petty principalities, each under its own chief, who, though inveſted with ſovereign dignity, had not ſufficient power to make encroachments on the rights and liberties of the ſubject. It is the ſecure poſſeſſion of property from the invaſions of deſpotiſm, that gives vigour to induſtry, and ſpirit to enterprize. Commerce muſt ever flouriſh moſt in republican ſtates, or in limited monarchies, where the poſſeſſion of wealth raiſes to diſtinction in the ſtate, and where the royal authority is exerciſed not for the oppreſſion, but the protection of the ſubject.

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No leſs conducive to their commercial proſperity and greatneſs, was the admirable policy of the Phœnicians in levelling all diſtinctions between natives and foreigners, and throwing their ports open to the whole world. The encouragement which they gave to the artiſts, manufacturers, and merchants of other nations, together with the freedom of their government, and the equity of their laws,

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tempted the moſt expert men in every profeſſion to ſettle in their territories, and of courſe to contribute to their improvement and opulence.

Tros, Tyriuſve mihi nullo diſcrimine agetur,

breathes the true ſpirit of Phœnician ſuperiority to narrow prejudices, and was as diſtinguiſhed an example of political toleration among the antients, as the ſimilar conduct of the Dutch was of religious toleration in modern times. This liberal maxim had no ſmall influence in making the city of Tyre the theatre of human ingenuity; the firſt emporium to the nations of the known world; and the grand repoſitory of every thing which could adminiſter to the neceſſities, the conveniences, and the luxuries of mankind.

The ſituation of the Phœnicians was admirably adapted to extend their commercial intercourſe to every part of the earth: poſſeſſing a part of Aſia, and placed on the confines of Africa and Europe, if they did not form a center of intereſt and union to the inhabitants of the globe, they at leaſt had it in their power to communicate to every nation the benefits of every climate. There were difficulties, however, in antient navigation, which

prevented or retarded their eſtabliſhing ſuch an univerſal intercourſe and commerce among nations. Of all the arts which have attracted the ſtudy or contemplation of mankind, none is more ſurpriſing in the riſe, from its early efforts to its ſubſequent improvement, than that of navigation. From the ſmall canoe, in which the Indian deſcends his native river, or ventures out into the adjacent ocean, to the noble and majeſtic edifice containing a thouſand men, with proviſions and accommodations for many months, and conveying all this vaſt apparatus on the wings of the wind, acroſs immenſe ſeas, to the moſt diſtant ſhores, the progreſs is ſo prodigious and aſtoniſhing, as to give us the higheſt idea of the human powers when enlightened and enlarged by the experience of many centuries. As the firſt form of veſſels adapted to navigation muſt have been extremely rude, the method of conducting them was no leſs awkward and defective. Skill, as well as experience, was required to aſſiſt the efforts of the rowers by the action of the winds. The method of arreſting a ſhip in its courſe, by means of that ſimple, but admirable machine, the anchor, muſt have been long unknown. The diſcoveries of modern times, which, by aſcer-

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taining the polarity of the magnet, determine the diſtance from land, and trace the paths of the ocean, were concealed from the early mariners, who had no other method of directing their courſe, than by obſerving the courſe of the ſun, and the poſition of the ſtars. Their navigation of conſequence was timid and uncertain. They crept along the ſhores, and cautiouſly avoided loſing ſight of land. Years were requiſite for performing voyages which are now finiſhed in a few months. Even in the mildeſt climates, and on the calmeſt ſeas, it was only during the ſummer ſeaſon that maritime enterprizes were purſued. It would have been deemed hazardous to an extreme, by the antient mariners, to have braved the fury of the elements, and the ſurges of the ocean, during the winter months. Under all theſe diſadvantages, however, the active and perſevering ſpirit of the Phœnicians exerted itſelf in naval and commercial enterprizes. The hiſtory of this people furniſhes a remarkable proof of the wonders which induſtry can perform, and of the opulence to which commerce can raiſe a nation which applies to it with ardour.

The firſt voyages which they performed were in the Mediterranean, of which they frequented

frequented all the ports. Coaſting along the ſhores of this ſea, they made ſettlements in the iſles of Cyprus and Rhodes, and extending their navigation, paſſed ſucceſſively into Greece, Thrace, Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia. Penetrating into the extremities of Europe, they viſited the Gauls, diſcovered the ſouthern part of Spain, and gave a name to that kingdom, which it ſtill retains *. CHAP. IX.

HITHERTO their navigation, like that of all the antient nations, had been confined to the Mediterranean; and the ſouth of Spain was the boundary of their voyages. Paſſing the ſouthern point of that country, the Phœnician ſailors perceived that the Mediterranean communicated by a narrow channel with another ſea. The dread of encountering unknown latitudes, and the perils which preſented themſelves in croſſing this unexplored and formidable paſſage, long deterred the Phœnician pilots: but incited by the love of gain, and encouraged by their perpetual ſucceſſes, about 1250 years before the Chriſtian era they ventured beyond the boundaries

* Spaniza, which the Romans have changed into *Hiſpania*, and we into Spain, ſignifies, in the Hebrew language, little different from the Phœnician, *full of rabbits*.

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of antient navigation, and paſſing the ſtraits of Gades, entered the ocean. Succeſs crowned the boldneſs of the enterprize. They landed on the weſtern coaſt of Spain. This firſt voyage was followed by others; and the Phœnicians ſoon ſent colonies into the country, founded cities there, and formed permanent ſettlements. Their lucrative traffic to theſe regions induced them to erect, on an iſle, known at preſent by the name of Cadiz, a fortified place, which they might employ as a repoſitory or warehouſe for the Spaniſh trade. To ſecure the poſſeſſion of that iſle, they built a city, to which, from the purpoſes of its erection, they gave the name of Cadiz *.

THE advantages which the Phœnicians derived from this trade were ſudden and extraordinary. Spain preſented the ſame ſpectacle to its firſt viſitants, that America preſented to the Spaniards in the ſixteenth century. The antient Spaniards, like the Americans, were deſtitute of arts and induſtry. Their country abounded with gold and ſilver; but the inhabitants, unacquainted with the value of theſe precious metals, applied them to

* Refuge, incloſure, vid. Diodor. lib. v. p. 345. Bochar. in Canaan, lib. i. cap. 34.

common

common uſes *. The Phœnicians availed themſelves of this ignorance. In exchange for oil, glaſs, and trinkets, ſo much coveted by barbarians, they received ſuch a quantity of ſilver, that their ſhips could not contain the treaſure. They were obliged to take out the lead with which their anchors were loaded, and put the ſilver in its place †. CHAP. IX.

THE wealth which the Phœnicians drew from Spain was not confined to the precious metals. Wax, honey, vermilion, iron, lead, copper, and above all, tin, were valuable articles of traffic. This laſt metal was unknown to other nations till it was introduced by the Phœnicians.

SPAIN was not the only country beyond the pillars of Hercules into which the Phœnicians had penetrated. Accuſtomed to the navigation of the ocean, they extended their diſcoveries to the left of the ſtraits of Gades, as far as to the right; and viſiting the weſtern coaſts of Africa, formed ſettlements there, a little after the Trojan war ‡.

WHILE the Phœnicians poſſeſſed the trade of the north and the weſt, they drew to them-

* Strabo, lib. iii. p. 224. † Diodor. lib. v. p. 358. ‡ Strabo, lib. i. p. 83.

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ſelves the commerce of the ſouth and the eaſt, which is ſaid to have been opened by the Egyptians. Having become maſters of ſeveral commodious harbours towards the bottom of the Arabian gulph, they eſtabliſhed a regular intercourſe with Arabia and the continent of India on the one hand, and with the eaſtern coaſt of Africa on the other. They landed the valuable cargoes which they brought from theſe opulent regions at Elath, the ſafeſt harbour in the Red-ſea towards the north. Thence they were carried by land to Rhinocolura, the neareſt port in the Mediterranean to the Arabian gulph; and being re-ſhipped in that harbour, were tranſported to the Phœnician capital. Thus the wealth of Perſia, India, Africa, and Arabia, centered in Tyre, and thence was diſtributed over the weſtern parts of the world *.

In order to ſecure the commerce of theſe countries which they had diſcovered or viſited, the Phœnicians founded colonies and cities, in the moſt commodious ſituations, as far as their voyages extended. About eighty years after the Trojan war they founded the city of Gades, on a ſmall iſland near the weſtern coaſt

* Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 1128.

of Andaluſia, and ſoon afterwards thoſe of Adrymetum, Leptis, Utica, and Copſa, in Africa *. In their voyages to Greece, Thrace, and Italy, they built cities and planted colonies in Cittium, Thera, Argos, Thebes, Samothrace, and Thaſus. Soon after this we find Phœnician colonies on every iſland of the Mediterranean, in the Balcaric iſles, in Sardinia, Corſica, Sicily, Malta, and many parts of the northern coaſts of Africa. The revolution which the conqueſts of Joſhua made in the countries of Canaan was favourable to the colonization of the Phœnicians. After the irruption and devaſtation of the Hebrew tribes, the greater part of the antient inhabitants of Palæſtine, finding themſelves threatened with immediate deſtruction, endeavoured to ſave themſelves by flight. Sidon offered them an aſylum; but the territory of that city not ſufficing to ſupport the multitude of exiles, they were under a neceſſity of exploring unknown countries, and ſeeking new ſettlements. The Phœnicians lent them their ſhips, and employed this acceſſion of ſubjects to extend their trade and to people their diſtant cities. Hence that vaſt number of co-

* Vell. Paterc, lib. i. cap. 2.

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lonies which, taking their departure from Phœnicia, ſoon after diffuſed themſelves through all the ſkirts of Africa and countries of Europe *.

No event is more remarkable in the Phœnician hiſtory, than the foundation of a new ſtate on the African coaſt about 890 years before the Chriſtian era. The foundation and growth of *Carthachadta* †, or the New Town, have been adorned by poetical fiction; but its conſequent greatneſs made an important figure in the hiſtory of the world. Situated on a bold projection of the African coaſt, in the very center of the Mediterranean, Carthage comprehended within her view the eaſt, as well as the weſt, and embraced, by the extent of her commerce, all the ſeas, and all the countries of the known world. An excellent port offered a ſecure aſylum to ſhips: the natural fertility of the adjacent ſoil; the happy ſite of the town, ſurrounded by a cluſter of iſlands and countries conveniently ſituated for commerce; the adventurous ſpirit of the merchants and mariners; the ſkill and induſtry of the artiſans; together with the wiſdom of

* Bochar. Canaan, &c.

† Abbreviated into Karchedon by the Greeks, and pronounced Carthago by the Romans.

the

the government, which was never ſhaken by ſeditions, nor oppreſſed by tyranny, till the later periods of the commonwealth; all contributed to the ſudden increaſe and rapid improvement of the Carthaginian colony. From the enlargement of its territory it became a ſeparate ſtate, which ſoon rivalled and afterwards ſurpaſſed the mother country; and, in a duration of ſeven hundred years, comprehended within its dominion the fineſt portion of Africa, as well as a great part of Spain, Sicily, Corſica, Sardinia, Malta, with the Balearic, and the Fortunate Iſlands.

From the enumeration of the countries to which the Phœnicians traded, of the cities which they built, and the colonies which they planted, in the various and diſtant parts of the world, an idea may be formed of the greatneſs and extent of their commerce. As in antient times the nations of the earth had little intercourſe or connection with each other, the Phœnicians were employed as factors and carriers to all their neighbours, and became maſters of all the trade that was carried on in the known world. Their ſhips conveyed the productions of every climate; and the empire of the ſea was in their poſſeſſion. Other nations applied to them when any

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any great maritime enterprize or distant expedition was to be undertaken. The fleets which Solomon fitted out, to sail from the Red-sea to Ophir and Tarshish, probably on the eastern coast of Ethiopia, were conducted by Phœnician pilots, who had been accustomed to visit these countries before the time of Solomon. It was to Phœnician mariners that Necho, king of Egypt, above 610 years before Christ, gave the extraordinary commission to circumnavigate Africa. That prince sent a Phœnician fleet from the borders of the Red-sea, with injunctions to keep along the African coasts, to make the tour of them, and to return to Egypt by entering the Mediterranean at the pillars of Hercules or straits of Gibraltar. The Phœnicians taking their departure from the Red-sea, entered the southern ocean, and constantly followed the coasts. After having employed two seasons in this navigation, they doubled the southern promontory of Africa, and arriving at the pillars of Hercules, entered the Mediterranean, and reached the mouths of the Nile in the third year of their voyage *.

SACRED and profane history agree in ex-

* Herod. lib. iv. cap. 42.

tolling

tolling the opulence and power of the Phœnicians. When the Iſraelites invaded Palæſtine, gold and ſilver abounded in that country; magnificence and luxury reigned in private apartments; the ſovereigns of the little diſtricts into which it was divided were clothed in purple; the people wore golden ear-rings; and even the camels were adorned with ſtuds, chains, and plates of gold. The Babylonian cloak, the moſt ſuperb article of dreſs among the Romans, in the period of their greateſt luxury, was frequent among the ſpoils of Canaan *. At the time of the Trojan war, the immenſe riches of Sidon were diffuſed among the neighbouring nations, and ſupplied them with all that could contribute to regal pomp and oſtentatious magnificence †. The commerce, opulence, and ſplendor of Phœnicia, continued to increaſe till the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. The prophets Iſaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, preſent a picture of Tyre in theſe diſtant ages, and celebrate the mart of nations with that enthuſiaſm and ſublimity which diſtinguiſh the language of inſpiration.

CHAP. IX.

1450 Ante Ch.

1180 Ante Ch.

* Joſhua and Judges paſſim.

† Hom. Iliad, lib. vi. ver. 289, lib. xxiii. ver. 743; and Odyſſ. lib. iv. ver. 154, lib. xv. ver. 114.

" TYRE

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"TYRE inhabits the isle which the merchants of Sidon, who pass over the sea, have replenished. The harvest of the river is her revenue, and she is a mart of nations. She is the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, and whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth *. Proud city, that art situate at the entry of the sea! thou hast said in thy heart, I am of perfect beauty. Thou hast extended thy commerce to distant islands, among the inhabitants of unknown coasts. Thou makest the fir-trees of Sannir into ships; the cedars of Lebanon are thy masts; the oaks of Bashan are thy oars. Thy sailors are seated upon the box-wood of Cyprus, inlaid with ivory. Thou hast spread forth the fine linen of Egypt to be thy sails and streamers; thy garments are dyed with the blue and purple of Hellas. † Sidon and Arvad send thee their rowers; Gebal ‡ her skilful shipbuilders; thy mathematicians and thy sages guide thy gallies; all the ships of the sea, with their mariners, are employed in thy commerce. The chosen men of Persia, Lydia, and Egypt, compose thine army; thy walls are hung round

* Isaiah, xxiii. Ezek. xxvii.

† The Archipelago. ‡ New Djebila.

with

with their ſhields and their helmets. The ſons of Arvad line thy parapets; and thy towers, guarded by the Djimedeans *, glitter with their brilliant quivers. All the countries of the world ſtretch out their hands to trade with thee. Tarſhiſh ſupplies thee with her multitude of riches, and ſends to thy market ſilver, iron, tin, and lead. Ionia, Tubal †, and Meſchech ‡, furniſh thee with ſlaves and veſſels of braſs. Armenia ſends thee mules, horſes, and horſemen. The Arabians of Dedan ‖ convey thy merchandiſe. Thy trade extends to many iſles, who, in exchange for thy manufactories, preſent thee with ivory and ebony. Syria ſends her traders to thy markets, and brings thee rubies, purple, embroidered work, fine linen, coral, and agate. Judah and Iſrael furniſh thee with fine wheat, cheeſe, honey, oil, and balm. Damaſcus ſupplies thee with the wine of Helban, and the whiteſt of wool. Dan and Ionia offer to thy merchants poliſhed iron, cinnamon, and the aromatic reed. The Arabians of Dedan bring

* A Phœnician people.

† Tubal, or Tiblis, is on the frontiers of Georgia, famous for exporting ſlaves.

‡ The country of the Moſques.

‖ Between Aleppo and Damaſcus.

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thee rich carpets. The inhabitants of the deſert, the princes of Kedar, exchange their lambs and their goats for thy precious merchandiſe. The Arabs of Saba and Rama * enrich thee with aromatics, precious ſtones, and gold. The natives of Haran, of Kalana †, and of Eden ‡, the merchants of Sheba ‖, the Aſſyrians, and the Chaldeans, frequent thy markets, and ſell thee ornamental foldings, embroidered ſtuffs, and cheſts of rich apparel; the ſhips of Tarſus rejoice in thy ports; thou art repleniſhed and made glorious in the midſt of the ſeas. Never was any city like unto thee: thou haſt enriched the nations, and the kings of the earth. Who is equal to Tyre, the queen of the ocean?"

THE Phœnicians, like the other nations of Canaan, were governed by petty princes; and their territory, circumſcribed as it was, included the kingdoms or ſtates of Sidon, Tyre, Aradus, Berytus, and Byblus. Sidon, the moſt ancient city, and the capital of Phœnicia, for a long time enjoyed the ſovereignty and engroſſed the trade of the Mediterranean. Homer, as has been obſerved by Strabo §,

* In the Yemen.
† In Meſopotamia.
‡ Adana, near to Tarſus.
‖ Near the Dedan.
§ Lib. xvi. p. 1079.

who

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who makes no mention of Tyre, celebrates Sidon, and alludes to the opulence and extenſive commerce of the inhabitants. Veſtiges of this antient metropolis are ſtill to be traced in the modern city of Sayde. Without the walls, and among the gardens adjacent to the preſent town, beautiful columns, magnificent piles of ruins, and venerable fragments of antiquity, impreſs the mind of the traveller with an idea of the antient greatneſs and ſplendor of Sidon.

TYRE, pronounced by the orientals Tſour, or Sour, was built on a rock (as the name indicates in the Phœnician language) about twenty miles to the ſouthward of Sidon. The colony which ſettled in this ſtrong hold, and which ſoon ſurpaſſed the parent city, laid the foundation of its power and opulence two hundred and forty years before the building of Solomon's temple. They made choice of this ſituation, from the double advantage of a place which might be eaſily defended, and the convenience of the adjacent road, which could contain and cover a great number of veſſels. Three different cities were diſtinguiſhed by this name at three different periods, Tyre on the Continent, Tyre on the Iſland, and

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Tyre on the Peninſula, after the iſland was joined to the continent. Monuments of the antient city on the ſea-coaſt ſtill remain, particularly the extraordinary aqueduct which is called Solomon's Well, and is ſupplied by one of the ſubterraneous rivers ſo frequently found in Syria. Three of the ciſterns are ſtill entire. The firſt is an octagon, ſixty feet in diameter. The ſurrounding wall is compoſed of gravel and pebbles, but ſo firmly conſolidated by a ſtrong cement, that it ſeems to be an entire piece of rock. To the ſouth this ſtone-work riſes about eighteen feet from the ground, and fifteen to the north. The column of water which fills the ciſtern is fifteen feet higher than the ground; aſcending at the top with the force of a torrent, it ruſhes through channels formed at the ſurface of the well. It is ſo abundant as to drive three mills in the neighbourhood, and form a little rivulet before it reaches the ſea. On the eaſt ſide an aqueduct, raiſed about ſix yards from the ground, and containing a channel one yard wide, runs from the ciſtern to the other two, and receiving their waters by ſmall channels, was continued ſeveral miles to the iſthmus, over which it extended into the iſland. The idea of confining a ſubter-

raneous

raneous river, and forcing it to rise from its bed, was worthy of the ingenious and enterprizing spirit of the Phœnicians. CHAP. III.

When Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, had beſieged and taken Jeruſalem, he meditated the deſtruction of Tyre, the only city which continued to brave his power. The Tyrians reſiſted this powerful conqueror for thirteen years; at laſt they reſolved to place the ſea between them and their enemy, and paſſed accordingly into the oppoſite iſland, at the diſtance of half a mile from the town.

Tyre on the Iſland was deſtroyed by Alexander the Great, but afterwards rebuilt. Her new inhabitants profited by the mole by which the Macedonians had made themſelves a paſſage to the iſland. The ſea, by covering this mole with ſand, enlarged it by ſucceſſive accumulations, and formed the iſthmus which joins the iſland to the continent. The modern village of Sour is ſituated at the junction, and contains about fifty poor families, who inhabit wretched huts, and ſubſiſt by fiſhing.

Aradus, formerly a powerful city and free ſtate, was built on an iſland about twenty furlongs from the ſhore. Their boundaries being narrow, the inhabitants raiſed the numerous buildings to an extraordinary height,

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so that, according to Strabo, they contained more stories than those of Rome. The liberty enjoyed by the inhabitants rendered it populous, and it flourished in naval commerce, manufactures, and arts. The ingenuity of the inhabitants discovered a spring at the bottom of the sea, from which they drew water when the town was besieged, by means of a leaden bell, and a long tube fitted to its bottom *. It is now known by the name of Ronad, and contains nothing but the mutilated remains of antient habitations.

BERYTUS, which the modern Arabians pronounce Bairout, was situated on a plain, at the foot of Mount Lebanon, which runs out into the sea, narrowing to a point, about two leagues from the ordinary line of the shore. Under the Roman emperors it was celebrated as an academy, in which the civil law was taught in Greek, as it was at Rome in Latin. It still continues to be the emporium of the Maronites and the Druzes, where they export their cottons and silks that are destined for Cairo. The port, which is formed by a pier, like all the others on the coast, is, like them, choaked up with sands and ruins.

* Strabo, lib. xvi. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ii. and v.

Without

Without the walls, ſhafts of columns, and other venerable relics of antiquity, are found, which indicate the former magnificence of Berytus. CHAP. IX.

Byblus, ſaid to have been the firſt city built in the country, was celebrated for the worſhip of Venus, and for the religious feſtival in which the women lamented the death of Adonis.

Beside theſe independent and ſovereign ſtates, other cities of Phœnicia are diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory. Tripoli, as the name imports, was founded by three colonies from Sidon, Tyre, and Aradus, who each of them formed ſettlements within a furlong of each other, which were ſurrounded by a common incloſure, and became one city. It ſtill retains its antient name, and forms a pachalic, or government, under the dominion of the Turks. It is ſituated on the margin of the river Kadiſha, at the foot of Mount Lebanon, which overlooks and ſurrounds it with its branches to the eaſt and the ſouth. It is ſeparated from the ſea by a ſmall triangular plain, half a league in breadth, at the point of which is the village, where the veſſels land their goods. To the ſouthward of this plain, the ſhore is full of the ruins of habitations, and columns

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broken and buried in the earth or in the ſea-ſands.

The town of Laodicea, founded by Seleucus Nicator, is ſituated at the baſe, and on the ſouthern ſide of a ſmall peninſula, which projects half a league into the ſea. The port is a kind of baſon, environed by a mole, the entrance of which is narrow. It might contain twenty-five or thirty veſſels; but the Turks have ſuffered it to be choaked up in ſuch a manner, as ſcarcely to admit four. The modern name is Latakia. In the time of Strabo it exported its famous wines, the produce of the adjacent mountains, to Egypt, by the way of Alexandria. It now carries on a great commerce, conſiſting chiefly of tobacco, of which upwards of twenty cargoes are annually ſent to Damietta; the returns from thence are rice, which is bartered in Upper Syria for oils and cottons.

History.

Of the kings or chieftains who preſided over the Phœnician ſtates, thoſe of Sidon, Tyre, and Aradus, were the moſt conſpicuous for political conſequence, and make the moſt diſtinguiſhed figure in hiſtory. But the records of their reſpective reigns, though carefully kept, as we are informed by Joſephus, have now periſhed; and of the Phœnician hiſ-

tory,

tory, a few fragments only remain. The genius of a commercial people is pacific rather than military. Engaged in maritime enterprizes, and commercial purſuits, the people of Tyre and Sidon profited by the conqueſts of their neighbours, without taking a part in their quarrels. We find frequent alluſions to the flouriſhing ſtate of the Sidonians and Tyrians in ſacred and profane hiſtory, but little mention is made of their kings or their public tranſactions.

DURING the reign of Cambyſes, Phœnicia was annexed to the Perſian empire, and the Phœnician fleets aſſiſted that monarch in his conqueſt of Egypt. In the celebrated wars between the Greeks and Perſians, Tetramneſtes, the Sidonian prince, aſſiſted Xerxes, in his expedition againſt Greece, with three hundred galleys, and is ranked by Herodotus among the chief commanders of the Perſian navy. Ante Ch. 598.

A REGULAR ſeries of events in the annals of Tyre and Sidon is not to be obtained, but a few events in their hiſtory will ſerve to explain the genius and character of the people.

UNDER the reign of Darius Ochus, the Phœnician ſtates, unable to bear the oppreſſion and tyranny of their Perſian governor, entered into a league with Nectanebis, king of Egypt, Ante Ch. 481.

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and rose in arms against the Persian monarch. In order to remove the seat of war from his own dominions, Nectanebis sent four thousand Greeks to the assistance of the Phœnicians, under the care of Mentor the Rhodian. Tennes, at that time king of Sidon, had raised a numerous army, and fitted out a powerful fleet. Being joined by the Grecian auxiliaries, he obtained a victory over the governors of Syria and Cilicia, and expelled the Persians from his territories. Alarmed at the progress of the Phœnician host, Ochus repaired in person to the frontiers of Sidon with an army of three hundred thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse. The approach of so great an armament shook the fidelity of Mentor the Rhodian. Accordingly he entered into a secret treaty with the Persian king, promising to deliver Sidon into his hands, and even engaged Tennes to be a partner in his treason.

Ante Ch. 398.

MEANWHILE the Sidonians were preparing for a gallant defence, and with that desperate valour which marks the character of a free people, had set fire to all their ships at the approach of the Persian troops, reducing themselves to the last alternative of the brave, that of conquering, or perishing in the ruins of their city. But all their efforts were vain;

Ante Ch. 484.

for

for when the Perſians drew near the walls, Tennes, under the pretence of going to the general aſſembly of the Phœnicians, went with ſix hundred of the principal citizens to the Perſian camp, and delivered them into the hands of Ochus, who immediately put them to death as the authors of the rebellion. Five hundred other citizens of high rank, who arrived ſoon after with olive-branches in their hands, were alſo put to the ſword. Ochus and Tennes then marched at the head of the Perſian army towards the city, and were admitted without oppoſition by Mentor, who held poſſeſſion of one of the gates. The treachery of Tennes had ſtruck terror into the Sidonians; but when they found themſelves a ſecond time betrayed, and ſaw the enemy within their walls, they abandoned themſelves to deſpair, and ſhutting themſelves up in their houſes, ſet them on fire. Forty thouſand men, beſide women and children, periſhed in this conflagration. Tennes did not ſurvive the ruins of his country; for the Perſian king deteſting the traitor, though he had profited by his treaſon, ordered him to be put to death. At the time of this diſaſter Sidon abounded with gold and ſilver, which being melted down in the flames, Ochus

ſold

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sold the ashes of the city for a prodigious sum of money. The destruction of Sidon struck an alarm into the neighbouring states, which immediately submitted to the conqueror, and all Phœnicia was again brought under the Persian yoke. The city was afterwards rebuilt, and the government of it committed to Strato. It continued subject to Ochus and his successors, till the Persian empire, with its appendages, were conquered by Alexander the Great.

Tyre, TYRE, called in sacred scripture the daughter of Sidon, was built on the continent 1252 years before the Christian era. No authentic memorials remain of its princes till the reign of Abeimal, cotemporary with David, and father of Hiram. The latter prince cultivated a friendly intercourse with the Hebrew monarch, and assisted him in building a palace at Jerusalem. On the accession of Solomon to the throne of his father, Hiram sent a congratulatory embassy to the new king, and furnished him with cedars from Lebanon, and skilful artificers, to build a temple to the Lord. This celebrated structure, the pride of Judea, and the ornament of the east, was indebted for its majesty and splendor to the ingenuity and opulence of the Tyrians. When Solomon

mon aimed to enrich his country by a ſhare in the Indian and African trade, which was carried on by the Red-ſea. Hiram generouſly furniſhed him with ſhip-builders to equip a fleet, and with Phœnicians pilots and mariners to conduct his veſſels to the ports of Ophir and Tarſhiſh. The kingdom of Tyre flouriſhed in the reign of Hiram. He enlarged the boundaries of the city, built temples to Hercules and Aſtarte, and engaged in military expeditions, which were crowned with ſucceſs. CHAP. IX.

In the reign of Pygmalion, his ſiſter Eliſa, or Dido, fled from Tyre, and founded Carthage on the coaſt of Africa. This ſtory is founded on truth, though it has been embelliſhed by the fancy of the poets.

When Elulæus was in poſſeſſion of the throne, many cities dependent on Tyre, aſpiring to throw off her dominion, had recourſe to Salmanaſar king of Aſſyria. That monarch eſpouſed their intereſts, and declared war againſt the Tyrians. He equipped a fleet of ſixty ſail; but that armament was beaten by a Tyrian ſquadron, conſiſting only of twelve ſhips. This action rendered the Tyrians ſo formidable at ſea, that Salmanaſar durſt no more encounter them on that element. He judged Ante Ch. 720.

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judged it more advantageous to attack them by land, and formed the ſiege of Tyre, which he afterwards converted into a blockade. The inhabitants were in time reduced to great diſtreſs, becauſe the Aſſyrians had ſtopped up the aqueducts, and intercepted all the conduits which conveyed water into the city. The Tyrians, by digging wells, were enabled to hold out for the ſpace of five years, when Salmanaſar dying, the Aſſyrians raiſed the ſiege.

Ante Ch. 585.

In the reign of Ithobal, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, marched into Syria and beſieged Tyre. Enriched by commerce, and elated with power, that city reſiſted, for thirteen years, the victorious monarch to whoſe arms the reſt of Aſia had ſubmitted. Before they were reduced to the laſt extremity, as I have already mentioned, the inhabitants withdrew from the city, and removed their valuable effects into a neighbouring iſle. Having become maſter of an empty city, the diſappointed monarch vented his rage upon the deſerted buildings, which he razed to the ground, and the few remaining inhabitants, whom he put to the ſword. This reſiſtance was fatal to the army of the Chaldean conqueror; but the ſpirit of the Tyrians remained invincible.

invincible. Having eſcaped the fury of their conqueror, they built on the adjacent iſle a new city, which ſoon obliterated the remembrance of the old *. From the aſhes of that proud city a phœnix aroſe, little inferior in beauty to its parent. New Tyre, ſituated on the iſland, ſoon became miſtreſs of the ſea, and held that empire, without a rival, till the time of Alexander the Great. CHAP. IX.

DURING this interval Tyre flouriſhed in opulence and power, and extended her dominion over the other Phœnician ſtates, whom ſhe rendered tributary. But the Macedonian conqueror was deſtined to change the form of human affairs, and to transfer to Europe the dominion of Aſia. After the battle of Iſſus, Alexander directed his march along the Phœnician coaſt. Aradus and Sidon immediately opened their gates, and ſubmitted to the yoke. The Tyrians ſent an embaſſy of their moſt illuſtrious citizens, among whom was the ſon of their king, with preſents for Alexander, and proviſions for his army. But when that conqueror expreſſed his eager deſire to enter their city, and to offer ſacrifice to Hercules, its tutelary god, they communicated to him

* Joſeph. lib. viii. cap. 2. Lib. ix. cap. 14.

their

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their determined reſolution, that neither the Perſians nor the Macedonians ſhould ever enter their walls." Provoked with this anſwer, Alexander reſolved to form the ſiege of Tyre, which the inhabitants were determined to ſuſtain with the utmoſt vigour. The ſtrength of this commercial capital was great. It was ſurrounded and defended on all ſides by the ſea: the walls exceeded a hundred feet in height, and extended eighteen miles in circumference; the magazines abounded with military and naval ſtores; and the Carthaginians, whoſe ambaſſadors were at that time in the city, had engaged to ſuccour the parent ſtate. Alexander, whoſe activity was ſtimulated, not repreſſed, by the difficulty of an undertaking, determined to become maſter of the place, and, by obtaining the dominion of the ſea, to open his way to greater conqueſts. The city was inacceſſible to aſſailants but by a bank or mole carried on from the continent to the iſland. Accordingly he undertook this aſtoniſhing work. The ruins of old Tyre ſupplied him with ſtones; Anti-Libanus furniſhed him with wood; and the neighbouring inhabitants aſſiſted his numerous army in this arduous labour. The Macedonians began to raiſe the mole with great alacrity; but when they

they approached the city, they were much incommoded by the depth of water, and exceedingly galled by darts and miſſile weapons thrown from the battlements. The Tyrians, likewiſe, having the command of the ſea, annoyed the workmen from their gallies, and retarded the execution of their plan. To reſiſt theſe aſſaults, Alexander erected, on the fartheſt projecture of the bank, two wooden towers, on which he placed engines, and which he covered with leather and raw hides, to reſiſt the ignited darts and fireſhips of the enemy. Meanwhile the beſieged employed the moſt ingenious ſtratagems to deſtroy the advancing works. Having procured a tranſport veſſel, they filled it with dry twigs, ſulphur, pitch, and other combuſtible materials. Towards the prow they raiſed two maſts, from whoſe extremities were ſuſpended vaſt caldrons of oil, to add violence to the conflagration. Taking advantage of a favourable wind, they conducted this inſtrument of deſtruction into the ſea by the aſſiſtance of their gallies. Approaching to the wooden towers, the rowers ſet fire to the veſſel, and eſcaped by ſwimming. The works of the Macedonians were ſoon conſumed, while the ſoldiers, throwing down their arms, leapt

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into the ſea. The beſieged venturing out of the city in boats, beat down the edges of the mole, tore up the ſtakes, and ſet fire to the engines. Thus the labour of many weeks was in one day reduced to ruins *.

DISAPPOINTED, but not dejected, Alexander immediately ordered a new mole to be raiſed on a larger ſcale than the former. The commands of a prince, who was preſent on all occaſions, and directed every operation in perſon, were ſoon obeyed. By rapid and incredible exertions the mole advanced to the iſland, and battering engines were erected. Senſible that all his efforts to take the city would be unavailing while the Tyrians commanded at ſea, Alexander aſſembled the fleets of the Phœnician cities which he had ſubdued. At the ſame time he was joined by the naval forces of Rhodes and Cyprus, ſo that his armament now amounted to two hundred and twenty-four veſſels. The Macedonian prince then ordered the Cyprian fleet to take its ſtation before the harbour which lay towards Sidon, and that of Phœnicia before the oppoſite port which looked towards Egypt. He then determined to at-

* Arrian. p. 44, &c.

tack

tack the city on every ſide. Military engines of all kinds were placed on the bank, in order to ſhake the walls with battering-rams, and to hurl on the beſiegers arrows, ſtones, and burning torches.

THE boldneſs and perſeverance of the Tyrians in making an obſtinate defence, were no leſs conſpicuous than the invincible intrepidity of Alexander in making the attack. From wooden towers, newly erected on their lofty battlements, they diſcharged ignited arrows, and other miſſile weapons, on the gallies that were advancing the battering engines againſt the city. They fenced the foot of the wall with great ſtones to prevent the Greeks from approaching it. While the Macedonians were attempting to remove theſe incumbrances, the Tyrians advanced with covered gallies, and cut the cables which held the ſhips at anchor. Alexander commanded a ſquadron to advance and repel the Tyrians. Yet even this was not effectual; for the iſlanders being expert divers, plunged under water, and again cutting the cables, ſet the Macedonian veſſels adrift. Iron chains were then prepared inſtead of ropes; the ſhips being ſecured in firm anchorage, the fence of ſtones was removed from the foot of the walls. The battering engines were

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then advanced; and the Tyrians, inveſted on all ſides, were attacked at the ſame time both by ſea and land.

In this extremity, the Tyrians reſolved to attack the Cyprian fleet, ſtationed at the mouth of the harbour which looked towards Sidon. But the vigilance of Alexander defeated the daring deſign; and this unſucceſsful ſally ſerved only to accelerate the fate of Tyre. The terror of the hoſtile fleet being removed, the Macedonians advanced their engines on all ſides, and prepared for a general aſſault. During two days the attack and the defence were equally vigorous; the beſiegers diſplaying the ardour of troops accuſtomed to victory, the beſieged the fury of men driven to deſpair. From towers equal in height to the walls, the Macedonians fought hand in hand with the foe. By throwing ſpontoons acroſs, they ſometimes paſſed over even to the battlements. In other parts the Tyrians employed new-invented hooks and grappling irons to remove the aſſailants. But what galled them moſt of all, was the burning ſand which the iſlanders ſhowered upon them from brazen ſhields heated in the fire. This, entering the crevices of their armour, penetrated to the bone, and tormented them to ſuch exceſs, that many

many threw themſelves headlong into the ſea. But the perſeverance of the Macedonian conqueror was not to be exhauſted. On the third day the engines aſſailed the walls; and the fleet, divided into two ſquadrons, attacked the oppoſite harbours. A breach being effected a hundred feet wide, the ſcaling ladders advanced, that the ſoldiers might enter the town over the ruins. The targeteers, headed by Admetus, firſt mounted the breach. This brave commander was ſlain; but Alexander, who was ever preſent in the midſt of danger, immediately followed with the royal band of Companions. At the ſame time the Phœnician and the Cyprian fleets broke into the harbours. After their walls were taken, the Tyrians rallied in a place called Agenor, and prepared to defend themſelves to the laſt. The long reſiſtance of the beſieged, which retarded the progreſs of the Macedonian conqueſts, and the barbarity of the Tyrians, who having taken ſome Grecian veſſels, maſſacred their crews on the top of the battlements, and threw their bodies into the ſea, exaſperated the fury of Alexander and his victorious army. The city was burned to the ground; eight thouſand of the inhabitants were put to the ſword; thirty thouſand were ſold as ſlaves; and

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two thouſand fixed on croſſes along the ſea-ſhore.

THUS fell the city of Tyre, no more to retrieve its antient ſplendor. The ſtruggle of the inhabitants, though unſucceſsful, was glorious; and Alexander the Great found it more difficult to ſubdue this little iſland, than to overturn the Perſian empire.

Arts and Sciences.

THE ingenuity of the Phœnicians, and their fame for manufactures and arts, have been celebrated by all antiquity. Too much of this praiſe, however, is conveyed in general terms; and hiſtory has left us in the dark with regard to particulars. A people who ſubſiſted by commerce and navigation, muſt have underſtood the principles of arithmetic, geometry, mechanics, geography, and aſtronomy.

Navigation.

THE firſt ideas of navigation muſt have originated from thoſe tribes who were ſituated on the ſea-coaſt, or near the mouths of rivers, where they fell into the ocean. In warm climates bathing is a common refreſhment and recreation; and that terror at the ſea, which is felt by the inhabitants of inland regions, is unknown to thoſe who live on the coaſt, and who venture on the watery element like the terreſtrial animals that ſwim ſpontaneouſly.

ouſly. The conſtruction of canoes for ſailing on lakes and rivers is known to the rudeſt tribes of ſavages. The firſt ſhips were probably of a ſimilar form. But experience would ſoon convince the early mariners, that veſſels deſigned for navigating the ſeas ought to be of a different conſtruction from thoſe intended for rivers. They would therefore make it their ſtudy to give ſuch a form and ſolidity to their ſhips, as would enable them to reſiſt the impetuoſity of the winds and waves. They would next endeavour to find out a method of guiding and directing them with eaſe and ſafety. Skulls and oars would be employed for this purpoſe before the uſe of the helm, which muſt have been a later invention. The action of the wind, the effects of which are ſo frequent and ſo ſtriking, would ſuggeſt the uſe of ſails, which was probably the laſt improvement in the conſtruction of ſhips. As the firſt navigators only coaſted along the ſhore, and cautiouſly avoided loſing ſight of land, ſails would have been more dangerous than uſeful. It required the experience of ſeveral ages to teach mariners the art of employing the wind in accelerating the motion of ſhips.

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THIS invention is generally aſcribed to the Phœnicians. As their navigation extended, they improved the conſtruction of their veſſels, and diſcovered the advantage which they might draw from the aerial element in facilitating and ſhortening their voyages. In the remote and difficult navigations which they undertook, they employed ſails when the weather was favourable, and had recourſe to oars during calms, or when the wind was adverſe.

THE Phœnicians employed two ſorts of veſſels of a very different conſtruction, the one deſtined for commerce, the other for naval expeditions. Their ſhips of war, which ſerved as a model to other nations, were long and pointed, and diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Arco*. Their merchant-ſhips, called *Gauloi*, approached to a round form. That mode of conſtructing veſſels accorded with the ſtate of navigation in theſe remote times. As they rowed along the coaſts, and followed the windings of the ſhore from one point of land to another, they could not give much depth to their veſſels *; and they endeavoured to gain in breadth what they loſt in depth.

* Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 6.

THE

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THE methods which they obſerved in directing their navigation to diſtant regions and on unknown ſeas, are not tranſmitted to us by hiſtory. From the moment that men began to obſerve the motion of the heavenly bodies, they would diſcern, that in that part of the heavens which is never marked with the ſun's orbit, there are certain ſtars which appear conſtantly every night. It was eaſy to diſcover the poſition of theſe ſtars in reſpect to our earth. They appear always on the left hand of the obſerver, whoſe face is turned to the eaſt. Navigators ſoon availed themſelves of this diſcovery, as theſe ſtars conſtantly pointed out the ſame part of the world. Antiquity gives the honour of this diſcovery to the induſtrious and enterprizing ſpirit of the Phœnicians. The Great Bear would probably be the firſt guide which theſe antient mariners made choice of to direct their courſe. This conſtellation is eaſily diſtinguiſhed both by the brightneſs and the peculiar arrangement of the ſtars which compoſe it. Placed near the pole, it hardly ever ſets, with reſpect to thoſe countries which the Phœnicians frequented. The northern ſtars were obſerved as the guides of navigation in very antient times. The Great Bear is men-

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tioned in the book of Job, who ſeems to have converſed much with merchants and navigators. The name by which that conſtellation was known among the antient inhabitants of Greece, and the tales which they related about its origin, prove that it was obſerved for the direction of mariners in very remote ages.

THIS conſtellation points out the pole only in a vague and confuſed manner. Senſible of this inconvenience, the Phœnicians ſearched in the heavens ſome point that would ſerve to direct their courſe in a more preciſe and certain manner. They perceived a leſſer conſtellation of the ſame figure nearer the pole, which they diſtinguiſhed by the name of Urſa Minor, or the Leſſer Bear, and choſe a bright ſtar in it to be their guide and their point of knowledge. Aided by this diſcovery, they early undertook diſtant voyages, and explored unknown regions.

THE arts and literature of the Phœnicians partook of their character, and aroſe from their ſituation. They excelled in the manufactures that required ingenuity and adminiſtered to luxury. The glaſs of Sidon, the purple of Tyre, and their fine linen which was ſo much celebrated, were the product of their own country, and their own inventions. For

their

their extraordinary ſkill in working of metals, in hewing of timber and ſtone, and their knowledge of what was ſolid and elegant in architecture, I need only remind the reader of the large ſhare they had in erecting and adorning the temple of Solomon at Jeruſalem. So remarkable and celebrated were they for their proficiency in the arts, that whatever was elegant, graceful, or pleaſing, in the ornaments of dreſs, or the decoration of houſes, was diſtinguiſhed, by way of excellence, with the epithet of *Sidonian*. They made improvements in arithmetic, aſtronomy, and the art of writing. Commerce neceſſarily required regiſters, with eaſy and permanent ſigns to fix theſe regiſters. Hence their alphabet became the moſt complete and uſeful of antiquity, as it expreſſed the vowels in which the Egyptian and Chaldean was deficient. The Egyptians, and the civilized nations of Aſia, ſought rather to conceal than to communicate their diſcoveries. The commercial ſpirit of the Phœnicians taught them a more enlightened and liberal policy. Their own proſperity was connected with the improvement of other nations; and, by ſettling colonies in the countries which they frequented, they planted the ſeeds of refinement. Herodotus informs us, that

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that the followers of Cadmus brought many doctrines and diſcoveries into Greece. The Curetes, who were ſkilled in the arts and ſciences of Phœnicia, ſettled in Phrygia, Crete, Rhodes, Samothrace, Eubœa, Lemnos, and Ætolia, where they taught the inhabitants the improvements of civil life. The Phœnician alphabet was imparted to the Greeks and the Carthaginians, by whom it was diffuſed over the weſtern world.

ALTHOUGH the genius of the Phœnicians turned more to objects of utility than of curioſity, it is among them that we find the firſt traces of a philoſophical ſyſtem concerning the origin and formation of the world. Sanchoniatho, of whom Euſebius has preſerved a valuable fragment, has tranſmitted to us the antient traditions and belief of the Phœnicians, and traced the hiſtory of the arts and the diſcoveries in the firſt ages. From antient writings, particularly thoſe of Thaut, the Egyptian Mercury, he extracted the theory which he has delivered concerning the arrangement of the chaos, the original ſtate of the world, and the earlieſt events which befel its inhabitants. He admits two principles, a chaos without form or order *, and a Spirit or

* Lib. v. cap. 58.

Intelligence

Intelligence endowed with goodneſs, who arranged the earth in its preſent form. Such ſpeculations, at an era ſo remote, argue an enlightened and poliſhed people, who had been accuſtomed to reaſoning and reſearch. Indeed, the nearer we go to the ages bordering on the creation, the ſtronger traces we find of thoſe primitive religious truths, which the preſumption and vanity of man have in vain endeavoured afterwards to obſcure.

MOSCHUS of Sidon, who, according to Strabo *, wrote about the time of the Trojan war, furniſhes us with the moſt antient example of ſceptical philoſophy. He taught that the world was produced by a fortuitous concourſe of atoms; a ſyſtem which, many ages afterwards, Epicurus introduced into Greece. The name of Kirjath-Sepher, or City of Letters and Records, which we find in the book of Joſhua, ſhews that literature had been cultivated in Phœnicia from the earlieſt ages.

Religion.

THE worſhip of the heavenly bodies, particularly of the ſun and moon, appears to be the natural religon, or rather ſuperſtition, of mankind. The chief deities of the Phœnicians, according to their own records, were

* Lib. xvi. p. 1098.

Beelſamen,

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Beelſamen, or Lord of Heaven, the name which they gave to the ſun; Aſtarte, or the moon; Apollo, and Melcartus, or Hercules. As the great object of their idolatry, the ſun, daily preſented himſelf to their eyes in all his ſplendor, it is probable that at firſt they paid their adorations to the luminary itſelf, though afterwards they repreſented it by idols which they placed in their temples. Aſtarte was repreſented like Iſis with horns, to denote the increaſe of the moon, and was adored under the title of the Queen of Heaven. Melcartus, or Hercules, was the antient god of Tyre, the Tyrians reckoning him as old as their city, which, according to their own account, had exiſted 2300 years. They expreſſed a particular veneration for this deity, but repreſented him under no form, and placed no images in his temple. Adonis, or Tammuz, may alſo be placed among their divinities. The ceremonies performed in honour of the Egyptian Oſiris and the beautiful Adonis were almoſt the ſame. They had both their diſappearance or death; there was a ſearch after both with mourning, and the diſcovery of both was attended with joy and gladneſs; ſo that the one ſuperſtition appears to have been borrowed from the other. This fable ſhews, that allegory

gory was early introduced into the ſuperſtition of the antients. Adonis, with whom Venus was enamoured, was ſlain by a wild boar. The goddeſs, unſpeakably afflicted with the news, followed her lover to the ſhades, and demanded him from Proſerpine, who, after ſome difficulties, agreed that he ſhould have permiſſion every year to be ſix months with Venus. Upon this ſhe returned with joy to the earth, and inſtituted a feſtival in commemoration of the event. In conſequence of this myſterious tradition, the women, eſpecially at Byblus, mourned annually the death of Adonis, and rejoiced for his reſtoration to life. Macrobius, who with much ſagacity has explained the myſteries of antient religion, thus allegorizes this hiſtory *. "Attentively conſidering the Syrian or Phœnician religion, we cannot doubt but that Adonis ſignifies the ſun. Venus repreſents the upper hemiſphere of the earth, Proſerpine the lower; when the ſun was in the ſix inferior ſigns, they ſaid he was with Proſerpine, and when in the ſix ſuperior, with Venus. Regarding the boar as the ſymbol of winter, becauſe he delights in marſhy and frozen places, they figu-

* Saturnal. lib. i.

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red this animal to have killed Adonis. Winter, therefore, which diminiſhes light and the ſun's heat, is the wound of Adonis." This allegory, which under its myſterious veil deſcribed the phenomena of nature, was metamorphoſed in paſſing from Phœnicia to Greece, whoſe elegant and harmonious poets celebrate the grief of Venus for her lover.

THE Phœnicians ſacrificed alſo to the elements and the winds, as might be expected from a maritime people; and their mariners placed ſmall idols, called pateci, in the prows of their ſhips, which they conſidered as tutelary gods, and carried about for protection from the dangers of the ocean. The worſhip of their gods was intermixed with impure rites; and human ſacrifices made a part of their religious ceremonies. But this barbarous practice, which was common to them with other nations, was diſcontinued in the enlightened periods of their hiſtory *.

THEIR temples were filled with prieſts, prophets, and other miniſters of religion. Jezebel, a Phœnician princeſs, and queen to Ahab, king of Iſrael, entertained four hundred and fifty prieſts of Baal at her table.

* Bochar. Canaan, lib. i. Selden. de Diis Syr.

They were wont to offer ſacrifices and burnt-offerings to this god, and to dance with violent geſticulations around the altar. Having by this excerciſe, and violent ſtraining of their voices, worked themſelves to the height of phrenzy, they began to cut their bodies with knives and lancets, and to predict future events, as if poſſeſſed by ſome ſupernatural power. Aſtarte alſo had many prieſts, four hundred of whom were ſupported by Jezebel; and in our verſion of ſcripture are called Prophets of the Groves. But the prieſts in Tyre and Sidon, however numerous, never attained to that dignity, importance, and power, which was poſſeſſed by the prieſts in Egypt, and the great empires of the eaſt.

Character. THE character of the Phœnicians was that of a commercial and a free people. An active and enterprizing ſpirit, prompted by neceſſity, animated by the love of gain, and ſtrengthened by ſucceſs, raiſed them to the ſovereignty of the ſeas, and made their country the center of all the trade in the world. The firſt effects of opulence are, to increaſe the reſources of induſtry; to add to the conveniences and enjoyments of life; and to diffuſe happineſs among thoſe claſſes in ſociety which are apparently the moſt wretched. But there are evils,

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evils, which rapid or immoderate prosperity carries in its train as certain and pernicious as those which attend indolence and poverty. Traffic introduces dishonesty and treachery; opulence engenders pride, luxury, and effeminacy; vanity and voluptuousness become ruling passions; and to these Tyre and Sidon, like some commercial cities in modern Europe, owed their declension and their fall.

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Of the JEWS.

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PALÆSTINE, or the Holy Land, was bounded on the weſt by the Mediterranean, and on the eaſt by the river Jordan, the lake Aſphaltites, and the ſea of Tiberias. Towards the north, it was ſeparated from Phœnicia by the mountain Anti-Libanus; and and on the ſouth, from Edom, or Idumæa, by another ridge of high hills. Perœa, on the eaſt ſide of Jordan, the boundaries of which were the kingdoms of Og and Sihon, formed alſo a part of the Jewiſh territories. It extended about two hundred miles in length, and eighty in breadth. It was firſt called the Land of Canaan, from a grandſon of Noah, by whom it was peopled. It has ſince been diſtinguiſhed by other names; the Land of Promiſe; the Holy Land; Judea, from the tribe of Judah, which poſſeſſed its fineſt and moſt fertile diviſion; and Palæſtine, from the Philiſtines, by whom a great part of it was inhabited.

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bited. The veneration of the Jews for this ſacred and celebrated ſpot, led them to conſider it as ſituated in the heart of all the nations, and as the center of the world.

Mountains.

THE moſt remarkable mountains in Palæſtine are thoſe of Lebanon, ſo often celebrated in the ſacred poetry of the Hebrews. This famed chain, deſcribed by antient and modern hiſtorians under the names of Libanus and Anti-Libanus, ſerves equally as a boundary to Syria and Judea; but ſuch frequent mention is made of them in the Jewiſh writings, that they are generally included within the confines of the Land of Promiſe. Their higheſt elevation is to the ſouth eaſt of Tripoli; and their ſummits, capped with clouds and covered with ſnow, are diſcerned at the diſtance of thirty leagues. The Orontes, which flows from the mountains of Damaſcus, and loſes itſelf below Antioch; the Kaſmia, which, from the north of Balbeck, takes its courſe towards Tyre; the Jordan, which ſends its waters towards the ſouth; prove the altitude of the region from which they derive their ſource. Lebanon, which gives its name to the extenſive range of the Keſrauan, and the country of the Druzes, preſents to the traveller the ſpectacle of its majeſtic mountains; at every ſtep

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he meets with ſcenes in which nature diſplays beauty or grandeur, ſometimes romantic wildneſs, but always variety. When he lands on the coaſt, the loftineſs and ſteep aſcent of this magnificent rampart, which ſeems to incloſe the country, the gigantic maſſes which ſhoot into the clouds, inſpire aſtoniſhment and reverence. Should he climb theſe ſummits which bounded his view, and aſcend the higheſt point of Lebanon, the Sannin, the immenſity of ſpace which he diſcovers becomes a freſh ſubject of admiration. On every ſide he beholds an horizon without bounds; while in clear weather the ſight is loſt over the deſert which extends to the Perſian gulph, and over the ſea which waſhes the coaſts of Europe, the mind ſeems to embrace the world. CHAP. X.

A DIFFERENT temperature prevails in different parts of the mountain. Hence the expreſſion of the Arabian poets, that "the Sannin bears winter on his head, ſpring upon his ſhoulders, and autumn in his boſom, while ſummer lies ſleeping at his feet."

HERMON as well as Lebanon is remarkable for its height, and is covered with ſnow during the winter. It is celebrated by the Pſalmiſt for its refreſhing dews, which deſcended Hermon.

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ſcended on the adjacent hill of Zion. Maundrel informs us, that its dews are ſtill exceſſive, and had wetted his tent as much as if it had rained all night.

Tabor.

TABOR has been greatly admired for its ſolitary ſituation, its regular form, its fertility, and perpetual verdure. In figure it reſembles a broken cone, and is near a thouſand yards in height. The ſummit is two thirds of a league in circumference. One of the fineſt proſpects in Paleſtine opens from this hill. To the ſouth the ſpectator diſcovers a ſucceſſion of vallies and mountains, which extend as far as Jeruſalem, while to the eaſt the valley of Jordan and lake Tabaria appear as if under his feet; beyond this the eye loſes itſelf towards the plains of the Hauzan, and then ſtretching to the north, returns by the mountains of Hoſbeya and the Kaſmia, to repoſe on the fertile plains of Galilee, without being able to reach the ſea. But what hath chiefly contributed to render this mountain venerable, is the tradition of its having been the ſcene of our Saviour's tranſfiguration. On this hill are ſtill to be ſeen the remains of a fortification built by Joſephus the hiſtorian. On the eaſt part are the ruins of a ſtrong caſtle, within the cinctures of which are three altars,

altars, in memory of the three tabernacles which St. Peter in his ecſtaſy propoſed to build.

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Carmel.

THE next mountain in dignity is Carmel, which ſtands on the ſkirts of the ſea. It extends eaſtward, as far as the plain of Jezreel, and on the ſouth reaches to Cæſarea. It ſeems to have obtained its name from its fertility; for Carmel, in Hebrew, ſignifies the vine of God, and is uſed in the prophetic writings to ſignify a fruitful ſpot. The ſame name was given to a city on the hill, and to a heathen deity worſhipped there without either temple or ſtatute *. This mountain is much celebrated, both by Jews and Chriſtians, for having been the reſidence of Elijah, who, before he was tranſlated to heaven, is ſuppoſed to have lived in a cave on its ſide, which is ſtill ſhewn to the traveller. From the earlieſt ages the Chriſtians began to ſhew a more than ordinary veneration for Carmel, particularly for Elijah's cave and garden, which are viſited and reverenced, not only by Chriſtians and Jews, but alſo by the Mahommedans. It has given the title to an order of monks in the Roman church, who are called Carme-

* Tacit. Hiſt. lib. ii. p. 359.

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lites, ſome of whom reſide in an antient monaſtery on the mountain.

Mount Olivet.

MOUNT Olivet, or the Mount of Olives, ſtands about a mile diſtant from Jeruſalem, and commands the proſpect of the whole city, from which it is parted by the brook Kedron, and the valley of Jehoſhaphat. It is part of a long ridge of hills, extending from north to ſouth, with three ſummits. From the central elevation our Saviour aſcended up into heaven. On that ſpot where they pretend to ſhew the prints of his feet on the rock a ſmall chapel is built, which is now converted into a moſque. Antiently a magnificent church was built in the ſame place by the empreſs Helena.

Calvary.

CALVARY, or Golgotha, is another mountain near Jeruſalem, held in the higheſt veneration as the place of our Saviour's crucifixion. It ſtood antiently without the walls of the city; but Conſtantine the Great incloſed the mountain within the walls, and erected a magnificent church over the place where the croſs was fixed. It has continued a place of as great veneration among the Chriſtians, as the temple was among the Jews.

Lakes and rivers. The Dead-ſea.

THE Dead-ſea, or Aſphaltite Lake, is called in the Jewiſh writings the Sea of Sodom, the

Sea

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Sea of the Deſert, and the Salt-ſea. The name of the Aſphaltite Lake was given to it, on account of the great quantity of aſphaltus, or bitumen, which was found on its borders. It was called the Dead-ſea, becauſe it was believed that no creature could live in it, on account of its exceſſive ſaltneſs. This lake was probably formed by the ſubmerſion of the vale of Siddim, where ſtood the five, or, according to Strabo, the thirteen cities, which, for their unnatural crimes, periſhed in an extraordinary conflagration. The hollow through which the Jordan flows is a region of volcanos. The bituminous and ſulphureous ſources of the lake Aſphaltites, the lava, the pumice-ſtones thrown upon its banks, and the hot bath of Tabaria, demonſtrate that this valley has been the ſeat of a ſubterraneous fire which is not yet extinguiſhed. Clouds of ſmoke are often obſerved to iſſue from the lake, and new crevices to be formed upon its banks. The phenomena of the place confirm the relation of Joſephus and Strabo, that the whole valley has been formed by the violent ſinking of a country which formerly poured the Jordan into the Mediterranean. The cataſtrophe of the five cities deſtroyed by fire was probably occaſioned by the eruptions of a volcano then

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burning. "According to the tradition of the inhabitants," ſays Strabo *, "the valley of the lake was formerly peopled by thirteen flouriſhing cities, which were ſwallowed up by a volcano." This account is confirmed by the ruins ſtill diſcovered by travellers on the weſtern border. Theſe eruptions have long ſince ceaſed; but earthquakes, which uſually ſucceed them, ſtill continue to be felt at intervals in this country. Hiſtory gives many examples of theſe convulſions of nature, which have changed the face of Antioch, Laodicea, Tripoli, Berytus, and Sidon. In the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-nine, a violent earthquake ravaged the country, and deſtroyed in the valley of Balbek upwards of twenty thouſand perſons. For three months the ſhocks of it terrified the inhabitants of Lebanon ſo much, as to make them abandon their houſes and dwell under tents.

THIS lake contains neither animal nor vegetable life. No verdure is ſeen on its banks, nor are fiſh to be found in its waters. But the report that its exhalations are ſo peſtiferous as to deſtroy birds flying over it, is an exaggeration of antiquity. It is common to

* Lib. xvi. p. 764.

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ſee ſwallows ſkimming its ſurface, and dipping for the water neceſſary to build their neſts. The real cauſe which deprives it of vegetables and animals, is the extreme ſaltneſs of the water, which is infinitely ſtronger than that of the ſea. The ſoil around it, equally impregnated with this ſalt, refuſes to produce plants; and the air itſelf, which becomes loaded with it from evaporation, and which receives alſo the ſulphureous and bituminous vapours, is unfavourable to vegetation: hence the deadly aſpect which reigns around the lake. The origin of the mineral by which it is impregnated is eaſily diſcovered, for on the ſouth-weſt ſhore are mines of foſſil ſalt. They are ſituated in the ſide of the mountains which extend along that border, and from time immemorial have ſupplied the neighbouring Arabs, and even the city of Jeruſalem.

All travellers and geographers remark, that though this lake receives the waters of the Jordan, of Jabok, of Kiſhon, and of many ſprings which flow into it from the adjacent mountains, yet it never overflows, though there is no viſible way diſcovered by which it diſcharges that great influx. Some naturaliſts have ſuſpected a ſubterraneous communication

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munication with the Mediterranean or the Red-ſea; but beſides that there are no phenomena to warrant this ſuppoſition, it has been demonſtrated by accurate calculations, that evaporation is more than ſufficient to carry off the waters introduced by the Jordan and other ſtreams. The exhalations are in fact very conſiderable, and often become ſenſible to the eye, by the fogs with which the lake is covered at the riſing of the ſun, and which are afterwards diſperſed by the heat.

Lake of Tiberias.

THE Sea of Tiberias was ſo called from a city of that name on its ſouth weſt ſhore. It was alſo called the Lake of Genezareth, and the Sea of Galilee, being almoſt ſurrounded with that province. The river Jordan runs through it, and, according to Joſephus, it is a hundred furlongs in length, and about forty in breadth. Unlike the ſea of Sodom, it is highly extolled for the ſweetneſs, coolneſs, and excellency of its water, and for the abundance and variety of its fiſh, many of them of a different ſpecies from thoſe with which we are acquainted. The lakes of Samachon, Jazan, and Phiala, are inconſiderable.

Rivers.

THE rivers in this and the adjacent regions of Syria ſcarcely merit the name. If the falling rains and the diſſolving ſnows give them

them ſome importance in the winter, their courſe is only to be diſcovered, during the remainder of the year, by the round ſtones and fragments of rocks with which their beds are filled. They are nothing but torrents and caſcades; from the proximity of the mountains whence they riſe to the ſea, their waters have not time to collect in long vallies, ſo as to form rivers.

Jordan.

THE only river of note in Palæſtine is the Jordan. It derives its ſource from the lake Phiala, and, after having run ſeveral furlongs under ground, emerges from the earth at Paneas. Riſing from its ſecond ſource, it runs to the ſouth-weſt, and ſends its waters to the lakes of Samachon and Tiberias; after a courſe of near a hundred miles, it falls into the Dead-ſea. Its breadth between the two principal lakes, in few places exceeds eighty feet; but its depth is about ten or twelve, and it is ſixty paces wide at its mouth. In winter it overflows its channel, and, ſwelled by the periodical rains and the melting ſnows, forms a ſheet of water ſometimes a quarter of a league broad. The time of its overflowing is generally in March, when the ſnows diſſolve on the mountains of the Shaik; at which time, more than any other, its waters are troubled,

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and its courſe rapid and impetuous. Its banks are covered with a thick foreſt of reeds, willows, and various ſhrubs, which ſerve as an aſylum for wild boars, ounces, jackals, hares, and different kinds of birds.

Antient fertility.

THE narrow limits of this country, interſected by ridges of mountains, abounding in woods, and marked with deſerts, have induced many learned men to doubt or diſbelieve its fertility and populouſneſs in former times. It muſt be confeſſed that, from the appearance of the country ſince the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and the extermination of the Jews, more particularly ſince, like the opulent countries in its neighbourhood, it has been rendered deſolate by the oppreſſion of the Turks, no idea can be formed of its antient flouriſhing condition. But upon the ſame principles we would reject the accounts of antient hiſtory concerning the proſperity and ſplendor of Egypt, Babylon, Tyre, the iſlands of Aſia Minor, Greece, Carthage, and Syracuſe. When the traveller, after wandering among barren and rocky mountains, diſcovers the ruins of Jeruſalem, he beholds indeed a ſtriking example of the viciſſitude of human affairs. When he obſerves its walls levelled with the duſt, its ditches filled up, and all its buildings deformed

deformed with ruins, he can ſcarcely believe that he contemplates the celebrated metropolis of a great nation, which formerly withſtood the efforts of the moſt powerful empires, and for a time reſiſted the progreſs of the Roman arms. Still more will he be aſtoniſhed at its antient ſplendor, when he conſiders its ſituation, amidſt a rugged ſoil, deſtitute of water, and ſurrounded by dry channels of torrents, and ſteep precipices. Remote from every great road, and diſtant from the ſea, it ſeems neither to have been calculated for a conſiderable mart of commerce, nor the center of a great conſumption. But the hiſtory of mankind affords abundant inſtances, that natural obſtacles may be overcome, and that an enlightened legiſlature, a vigorous policy, and national induſtry, when favoured by happy circumſtances, can diffuſe fertility among barren wilds, and crowd the deſert with population. From the exile Marius ſitting on the ruins of Carthage, no juſt conjecture could be drawn concerning the flouriſhing fortunes of the individual, or of the nation.

When we conſider the nature of the country itſelf, we find no reaſon to call in queſtion the accounts of antient hiſtorians, both ſacred and profane.

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profane. It is described by Moſes *as a land that flowed with milk and honey; as a country of brooks and waters, and of fountains that ſpring out of the valleys and the hills; a land of wheat and barley, of vines, figs, and pomegranates, of oil, olives, and honey; a land where there is no lack of any thing, whoſe rocks are iron, and out of whoſe mountains braſs is dug up.*

MANY circumſtances contributed to the fecundity and abundance of Palæſtine. The temperature of an atmoſphere, which was not ſubject to exceſſive heats or colds; the regularity of the ſeaſons, with the periodical fall of the former and the latter rain; the natural fertility of the ſoil, which required no manuring, and could be cultivated by a ſmall plough and a ſingle yoke of oxen; ſeconded by the induſtry of the inhabitants, each of whom was lord of his little poſſeſſion; contributed to augment the riches of nature, and to multiply the enjoyments of man. Judea abounded in grain of the moſt excellent quality, and the wheat which grew in its territories was preferred to that of other countries. It was produced in ſuch profuſion, that beſides what ſufficed the inhabitants under the reign of Solomon, twenty thouſand meaſures of it, and as many of oil, were ſent annually

annually to Hiram king of Tyre. So late as the age of Herod Agrippa the cities of Tyre and Sidon were ſupplied by the luxuriant harveſts of Palæſtine. CHAP. X.

THE richneſs and variety of their fruits were no leſs remarkable. Judea was renowned for the palm-tree and its dates. The vines produced grapes of the moſt delicious flavour, twice, and ſometimes thrice, in the year. The wines of Gaza, Aſcalon, and Sarepta, as well as thoſe of Bethlehem and Libanus, were famous among remote nations; the balm of Gilead, the produce of the balſam ſhrub, was eſteemed a precious drug among the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and over all the eaſt. The woods abounded with honey, which was depoſited in the hollow of trees, and in the clefts of the rocks. The ſugar-cane was cultivated with ſucceſs; and the cotton, flax, and hemp, uſed by the inhabitants, were chiefly of their own growth and manufacture. From their vicinity to Lebanon, cedars, cypreſſes, and other ſtately trees, were common in moſt parts of the country. Cattle abounded in the hilly countries, which not only afforded them abundance of paſture, but of water, which deſcended thence into the vallies, which it fertilized. The lake of Tiberias and the Mediterranean

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ſea abounded in fiſh. The populouſneſs of Paleſtine correſponded to its fertility. When Joab, by order of David, numbered the people, there were of the Iſraelites eight hundred thouſand fighting men, and of the ſingle tribe of Judah five hundred thouſand; and ſuppoſing theſe to be a third of the inhabitants, their number will amount to four millions.

THE teſtimony of profane authors concurs with that of the ſacred in aſſerting the fruitfulneſs of the Holy Land. The emperor Julian and the hiſtorian Tacitus were certainly not partial to the Jews; yet both of them celebrate the excellence and abundance of the fruits and productions by which Judea was diſtinguiſhed. Modern travellers, who have ſurveyed it in its preſent ſtate of deſolation, have diſcovered viſible ſigns of its natural riches and fertility, and attribute its preſent ſterility to want of cultivation, ariſing from the oppreſſion of the government, and the conſequent indolence of the inhabitants. "The Holy Land," ſays Shaw, "were it as well peopled and cultivated as in former periods, would ſtill be more fruitful than the beſt provinces of Syria or Phœnicia. The cotton that is gathered in the plains of Ramah, Eſdraelon, and Zebulon, is in greater eſteem than what

what is cultivated near Sidon and Tripoli. Neither is it poſſible for pulſe, wheat, or any ſort of grain, to be more excellent than what is ſold at Jeruſalem." Volney, the lateſt traveller to this country, gives his evidence to the natural richneſs of the ſoil. "What is ſaid of its actual fertility," ſays he, "correſponds with the idea given of it in the Hebrew writings. Whenever wheat is ſown, if it be not deſtroyed by rain, it repays the huſbandman with profuſion, and grows to the height of a man. The pilgrims aſſert, alſo, that the inhabitants are ſtronger and taller than the inhabitants of Syria *."

THE hiſtory of this ſingular people merits our attention in two very different and important views; in a civil and in a religious capacity; as an eaſtern nation, and as the people of God. In the firſt of theſe characters we contemplate them in the ſame light as other nations who are the ſubjects of hiſtorical record; in the laſt we conſider them as the favourites of Providence, and the depoſitaries of that revelation from heaven which was one day to enlighten the moſt remote nations, and diſtant corners of the earth.

* Volney's Travels, vol. ii. let. 30.

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In an hiſtorical view, the life of Abraham, and his immediate deſcendants, preſents us with the idea of the paſtoral ſtate of ſociety, which we find among all nations in the commencement of their records. A people living in tents, and roaming from place to place, without a fixed abode, as freſher paſtures or purer ſprings invited them; governed by an anceſtor or patriarch, venerable for his age, and reſpectable for his wiſdom; diſtinguiſhed by the virtues of rude hoſpitality, undiſciplined valour, and family affection embittered by family feuds; ſignalized only by the ſimple adventures which originate from an intercourſe with neighbouring tribes as unrefined as themſelves; conſtitute the chief lines in the hiſtory of the Hebrew race, from the period of Abraham to their captivity in Egypt.

The merits of Joſeph, the preſerver of that kingdom, and the acceſs which he had to the throne, ſecured at firſt a welcome reception to his kinſmen. But on the death of his protector, *a king aroſe who knew not Joſeph*. Shepherds were held in abomination by the Egyptians; as the paſtoral and predatory tribes of Arabia frequently invaded their territories, and had formerly made themſelves maſters of the kingdom. The extraordinary multiplication

of this alien race, with their ſingular manners, ſeemed to endanger the ſafety of the ſtate. By tyrannical edicts they were perſecuted, oppreſſed, and condemned to the ſevere and ignominious labours of ſervitude. While the voice of their miſery and their ſupplications for relief were ſent up to Heaven, at laſt a deliverer of their own race aroſe. Moſes, who was educated in the court of Pharaoh, and inſtructed in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians, reſcued his kindred tribes from the yoke of oppreſſion, and the houſe of bondage. Having delivered them from Egyptian tyranny, he conducted them into the deſerts of Sinai, and kept them in theſe hoſtile regions for a whole generation, to initiate them in the art of war, and transform a multitude of ſhepherds into a nation of warriors. Eminent for legiſlative wiſdom, as well as military talents, he compiled a code of laws, for the future conduct of the nation, which diſcover in a high degree the enlarged mind and extenſive views of the lawgiver. Under Joſhua, the ſucceſſor of Moſes, the deſcendants of Abraham took poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, The fertility of this country, and the opulence of its firſt inhabitants, owing to their commercial intercourſe with foreign nations, I

Ante Ch. 1531.

Ante Ch. 1451.

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have already had occaſion to deſcribe. Paleſtine was divided among the twelve tribes, and the Hebrew commonwealth poſſeſſed the ſpoils of the conquered nations.

AFTER the death of Joſhua, no particular perſon ſucceeded him in the government; every tribe was governed by its reſpective heads or elders, who commanded the troops in their wars with the neighbouring nations. A temporary government was ſometimes adminiſtered, by individuals of extraordinary talents and virtues, under the name of Judges or Sophetim, a ſpecies of authority which was alſo eſtabliſhed in Phœnicia and in Carthage. At laſt the people demanded a king, and Saul, Ante Ch. 1095. recommended, according to the manners of barbarians, by his ſuperior ſtature and the advantages of his perſon, was raiſed to the ſovereign dignity. Rejected ſoon on account of his imbecillity and miſconduct, a new royal family was appointed, and the kingdom was eſtabliſhed in the houſe of David. Henceforth the Hebrew people, formerly obſcure or depreſſed, aſſume a more auguſt form, and acquire a name among the nations.

ELEVATED from an humble ſituation to the throne by his martial achievements and political ſagacity, the hero of Iſrael raiſed his country

country to renown, gave it conſequence and conſideration among the neighbouring ſtates, and cauſed its name to be revered over all the eaſt. After ſecuring his new-acquired authority by a ſeries of victories, and extending his conqueſts over the adjacent nations, he invaded the kingdom of Edom or Idumæa, and reduced it to be a province of his empire. By this conqueſt he became maſter of two ſea-port towns on the Red-ſea, Elath and Ezion-Geber, which, in the pacific and ſplendid reign of his ſon Solomon, became a ſource of extraordinary opulence and new importance to the kingdom of Iſrael. CHAP. X. Ante Ch. 1015.

THE ſucceſs of the Phœnicians in the trade which they carried on by the Red-ſea with Arabia and India on the one hand, and with the eaſtern coaſt of Africa on the other, attracted the attention and imitation of Solomon. Succeeding to a kingdom rendered illuſtrious by the battles and victories of his father, this wiſe prince applied to the arts of peace, and endeavoured to make his ſubjects flouriſh by induſtry, as they had done formerly by war. He entered into an alliance with Hiram, king of Tyre, and employed the ingenuity and induſtry of the Phœnicians in carrying on a commerce with which they were

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ſo well acquainted. He went in perſon to Elath and Ezion-Geber, inſpected the building of the ſhips deſtined to this trade, fortified theſe harbours, and made every neceſſary preparation for conducting commercial voyages to the Indies of the antient world. He peopled theſe maritime cities with inhabitants brought from the ſea-coaſts of Palæſtine, particularly the Tyrians, with whom his generous ally, Hiram, ſupplied him in great numbers *. His fleets, thus fitted out, ſailed from the Red-ſea, under the direction of Phœnician pilots, to thoſe ports in Arabia and Africa which they had been accuſtomed to frequent. By one voyage to Ophir, he obtained four hundred and fifty talents of gold †. By his enlightened and well-regulated efforts, he drew to theſe ports on the Red-ſea, and thence to Jeruſalem, the produce and luxuries of Africa, Arabia, Perſia, and India, and acquired ſuch immenſe opulence, that he is ſaid to have made ſilver abound in Zion like the ſtones of the ſtreet.

FROM the elevation and ſplendor to which the kingdom of Iſrael was now raiſed, we find

* 1 Kings, ix. 28. 2 Chron. viii. 18.

† 2 Chron. viii. 18. Equal to three millions two hundred and forty thouſand pounds ſterling.

Solomon

Solomon contracting a matrimonial alliance with the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt; and his court assuming the pomp and luxury of an oriental empire. CHAP. X.

AFTER the division of the kingdom, in the weak and unfortunate reign of Rehoboam, Idumæa remained to the house of David, and the Jews continued to carry on this trade from the port of Ezion-Geber. On the accession of Jehoram to the throne, the Edomites revolted, and having expelled his viceroy, chose a king of their own, and under his conduct recovered their antient liberty. From this time the Jewish traffic by the Arabian gulph was interrupted till the reign of Uzziah. He, having recovered Elath to Judah, fortified it anew, and expelling the Edomites, planted it with his own people. The antient traffic being thus renewed, was carried on and continued till Ahaz began his reign. At that period Rezin, king of Damascus, seized Elath from the Jews, and planted it with Syrians, in order to partake the profit of that trade of the southern seas, which the kings of Judah had hitherto reaped by holding possession of that port. But Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, having conquered Rezin, and subdued the kingdom of Damascus, seized Elath as be-

Ante Ch. 975.

Ante Ch. 741.

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longing to his new conqueſt, and retaining it in his poſſeſſion, transferred to his Tyrian ſubjects the benefits of that trade which the Jews had carried on with little interruption ſince the days of Solomon. The ſources of its proſperity being cut off, the kingdom of Judah gradually declined till Jeruſalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, and the inhabitants carried captive to Babylon.

Ante Ch. 586.

When we conſider the Jews in a religious light, a higher order of things opens to our contemplation. In the multitude of hiſtorical records which heathen antiquity has tranſmitted to modern times, we behold human policy and ambition directing the affairs of men, and operating revolutions in the world; but that Almighty arm, by which all the movements in the univerſe are begun and conducted, is totally concealed. The ſacred volume reveals to us the ſecret deſigns of Providence, and removes the veil which covers the councils of the Almighty. The revelation, darkly intimated to the parents of mankind after their apoſtacy, that a divine perſon was to deſcend from their race to repair the ruins of their fall, and reſtore man to his original dignity, though obliterated in ſucceeding ages, was one day to be promulgated to the world.

But

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But it is one of the laws by which all the operations of Providence are conducted in this ſyſtem, that perfection of every kind is gradual and not ſudden. There is a riſe and a progreſs in all the works of Nature. The vegetable ſprings from a tender ſhoot, and the animal from an infant ſtate. Man, in his collective as well as his individul capacity, advances to improvement by degrees. Civilization and refinement; the inventions of art and the diſcoveries of ſcience; legiſlative wiſdom and the perfection of political inſtitutions, are not ſudden acquiſitions, but the gradual growth of time and experience, the ſlow production of enquiry and inveſtigation for many ages.

THIS law, which is eſtabliſhed in the natural and in the moral, prevails alſo in the religious world. The light of revelation was not poured upon the nations all at once, and with its full ſplendor. The obſcurity of the dawn went before the brightneſs of the noon-day. Great deſigns are ſeldom executed without due preparation. There was a propriety of announcing beforehand the appearance of a Meſſenger from heaven, the birth of a Prince upon whoſe ſhoulders the government of the world was to reſt. With this

view

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view God ſelected the deſcendants of Abraham as a peculiar people, and inſtituted the Moſaic œconomy. At that period the nations of the earth had corrupted the purity of natural religion, and forgotten or perverted the traditions of revelation. Following their vain imaginations or vicious paſſions, they ſunk into idolatry of the moſt abject and deplorable kind. A depraved worſhip, impure rites, and bloody ceremonies, prevailed among them. Their religion was impiety. Altars were erected to the elements, to the ſtars, to mortal men, to every thing except the true God. The world ſeemed to be torn from the hands of its Creator, and brought under the dominion of evil ſpirits and powers malignant to man. When human affairs were in this condition, God mercifully interpoſed, reſumed in an extraordinary manner the reins of the univerſe, and revealed himſelf to a world which ſeemed to have forgotten his exiſtence. He laid hold of one people with a ſaving hand; ſnatched them from the defilement and corruption of the neighbouring nations; inſtructed them in the principles of pure religion, and gave them a code of laws to regulate their conduct.

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It was not his intention to bring them from the groſs darkneſs in which they formerly wandered immediately into the perfect day; to raiſe them from the bottom of the vale at once to the ſummit of the mountain; but to advance their progreſs by ſlow degrees, agreeable to the frailty of human nature, and the deſigns of Divine Providence. A dawn of light was ſufficient for the morning of the world; the infant ſtate of ſociety was not ripe for a more perfect inſtruction; and that nation, to whoſe capacity theſe laws were adapted, was unfit to receive the pureſt and ſublimeſt leſſons of wiſdom.

The revelation which God made of himſelf to his choſen people was accommodated to their ſituation, and to the ſtate of the world at that time. As idolatry prevailed univerſally among the neighbouring nations, the worſhip of one Supreme Being, the creator and governor of the world, infinite in wiſdom, power, and goodneſs, the avenger of guilt, but the patron and protector of righteouſneſs, was eſtabliſhed by divine authority among the people of Iſrael. To counteract the natural propenſity of mankind which leads them to ſuperſtition, and prevent the contagion of heathen worſhip which ſubſtituted external

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external ceremonies and ritual obſervances in the place of piety and virtue, the means of acceptance with Heaven were declared to conſiſt in purity of heart and integrity of life. The worthy and acceptable worſhipper in the temple of the Moſt High, was not to come before him "with thouſands of rams, or ten thouſand rivers of oil, but to offer the ſacrifices of righteouſneſs, to do juſtice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God." Doctrines, which among other nations were regarded as diſcoveries of the moſt ſublime philoſophy, were revealed at once to theſe rude tribes; and the profound though ſimple truths of theology, which among the moſt enlightened and refined ſtates of antiquity were confined to the few, and only imparted to thoſe who were initiated in the myſteries, were promulgated to mankind. When ignorance and idolatry prevailed among the nations, it was requiſite that one people ſhould be the depoſitaries of a religion ſo worthy of the Deity; and while the ſhades of ſuperſtition covered the reſt of the earth, a morning roſe in Palæſtine which in its progreſs was to enlighten the world.

THE divine miſſion of Moſes to the people of Iſrael was confirmed by the miracles which he

he performed, and the prophecies which he uttered; and on theſe the public evidence of a revelation from Heaven muſt ever be eſtabliſhed. It is from the wiſdom, beneficence, and power diſplayed in the works of nature, that the exiſtence and perfections of the Supreme Being are inferred. The heavens declare the glory of their Creator, and the firmament ſheweth forth his handy-work. The revolutions of the ſeaſons, the viciſſitude of day and night, and the perpetual conſervation of the world, announce the preſence and the operation of that Power by whom the order of nature was at firſt eſtabliſhed. On theſe mighty works natural religion is founded, and on operations of a ſimilar kind revealed religion reſts. Miracles have been improperly defined "violations of the laws of nature," as if one almighty power was counteracting the operations of another. They ought to be conſidered as works ſimilar or equivalent to thoſe of nature, performed in proof of a miſſion from Heaven. To plant the organs of viſion, and to give life, are operations of nature: to reſtore ſight to the blind, and to raiſe the dead, are miracles. Both ſuppoſe a Power which is divine; and nature, whether obſerving

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obſerving her ſtated courſe, or receding from her eſtabliſhed laws, acknowledges the ſame Author.

THE mighty works which Moſes performed in proof of his divine miſſion were obvious to ſenſe, and cognizable by reaſon. He did not attempt to impoſe on the credulity of the Iſraelites, by pretending to an intercourſe with celeſtial powers in unfrequented receſſes and ſolitary caverns. He ſubmitted his credentials to the deciſion of the ſenſes, and made the Jews witneſſes of the divine interpoſition in their behalf. The *miracles performed in Egypt*, and *the wonders diſplayed in the field of Zoan*, were wrought for their own deliverance, or the puniſhment of their enemies. The ſea, divided by divine power to permit them to paſs in ſafety between its ſuſpended billows; the heavenly bread which ſupported them in a barren deſert; the waters guſhing from the rocks at the ſtroke of a rod, and following them in their courſe; the heavens giving them a viſible ſignal to direct their march by a pillar of cloud during the day, and a pillar of fire by night; the deſcent of the Almighty on Mount Sinai, and his voice ſpeaking to them in the midſt of the cloud, were miraculous

miraculous appearances and interpoſitions that appealed to the evidence of ſenſe, and were confirmed by the teſt of obſervation.

PROPHECIES, that announce and deſcribe future events as if they were preſent, are only miracles of a different kind. The omnipotence of the Deity is diſplayed in the one; his omniſcience is proved by the other. To draw aſide the veil from futurity; to record the hiſtory of the ages to come; to predict the glory of kings before they were brought into exiſtence; and the fall of empires ere they had attained to their meridian ſplendor, belongs only to Him who beholds the future as the preſent, and to thoſe to whom he reveals the hidden myſteries of heaven. In the patriarchal ages ſuch myſterious oracles were given to conſole the diſtreſſes and ſupport the faith of the pious. But under the Moſaic œconomy, the miniſtry of the prophets forms a remarkable part in the hiſtory of the choſen people. They were ſet apart from the reſt of the nation by a retired life, auſtere manners, and a peculiar garb. They lived in a ſort of community under the direction of a ſuperior, and practiſed the virtues of ſelf-denial and mortification. Apart from the world, they held converſe with Heaven, and were favoured with

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with visions of futurity. Their chief predictions related to the Messiah, his incarnation, sufferings, death, and the glory that was to follow. This, however, belongs to sacred rather than to civil history. It was chiefly in times of idolatry and corruption that these extraordinary messengers of the Most High exercised their prophetical functions. Then *they lifted up their voice like a trumpet*, warned the Israelites of their wickedness, summoned their attention to the law of Moses and the covenant of their fathers, and, by denunciations of future calamities to themselves and the people around, exhorted them to repentance.

HENCE foreign nations, as well as their own, were the subjects of their prophecy. They beheld from afar the revolutions that were to take place in the cities and empires around them, and described the history of unborn ages as if they had been spectators of the events which they foretold. Those nations in particular, whose transactions I have now recorded, are distinguished in the sacred oracles; their various fortunes, whether flourishing or adverse; their splendor and their fall, are minutely and accurately described by the prophetic pen. This forms a shining and a strik-

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ing part in the history of the Hebrews; and as it furnishes a proof of the inspiration of the sacred volumes, which speaks to all nations and to all ages, the detail will be no less interesting to piety than gratifying to curiosity.

The kingdom of Assyria was the first of the great empires that flourished in the east. A succession of warlike princes had established the greatness of Nineveh on the ruins of the independent states in the neighbourhood; and the greater part of Asia submitted to the Assyrian yoke. The extraordinary power and sudden prosperity of the kingdom had corrupted the morals of the rulers and the people; rapacity, cruelty, and oppression, marked the progress of their conquests; they had carried the ten tribes of Israel into captivity, and imposed a tribute on the kingdom of Judah. The vengeance of Heaven was denounced against them for their wickedness by the prophet Jonah; but on their humbling themselves before the true God, and repenting in sackcloth and ashes, their doom was delayed. But Nineveh did not continue long to bring forth the fruits of repentance; the inhabitants returned to their former courses, and added to the catalogue of their crimes. Nahum the prophet, therefore, who lived in

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the reign of Hezekiah, and about ninety years later than Jonah, foretold the deſtruction of this proud city, which accordingly took place about ſixty years thereafter, when the Medes and Babylonians, under Cyaxares and Nabopolaſſar, beſieged Nineveh, and overturned the Aſſyrian empire. The predictions of this inſpired prophet relate entirely to the deſtruction of the city and its inhabitants. After a ſublime exordium, in which he deſcribes the juſtice and power of the Deity, he introduces Jehovah himſelf proclaiming freedom to his people from the Aſſyrian yoke, and announcing the ruin of the mighty city that had ſhed the blood of his ſervants; marching at the head of the armies that ſhould come to beſiege it; ſtriking terror and conſternation before them; and delivering the city, with its inhabitants and its treaſures, into the mercileſs hands of rapacious and inſatiable plunderers. He next deſcribes the inſtruments of Jehovah's vengeance, the military array, the arms and dreſs of the Medes and Babylonians, their rapid aproach to the walls, the inundation of the river, the capture of the place, the captivity, lamentation, and flight of the inhabitants, and the conſequent deſolation and terror of a city devoted to deſtruction.

"Wo

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"Wo to the bloody city! it is full of lies and of robbery. He that daſheth in pieces is come up before thy face, and the Avenger of the nations is at hand. I hear the craſh of the whip, the noiſe of the rattling wheels, of the prancing horſes, and of the bounding chariots. The horſeman lifteth up the bright ſword and the glittering ſpear. The ſhield of the mighty men is made red, the valiant are in ſcarlet. The chariots with flaming torches ſhall rage in the ſtreets, they ſhall juſtle one againſt another in the broad ways, they ſhall run like the lightnings. The Lord will take vengeance on his adverſaries, and execute wrath on his enemies. He hath his way in the whirlwind and in the ſtorm, and the clouds are the duſt of his feet. He rebuketh the ſea and maketh it dry; and he drieth up the rivers. The mountains tremble before him, the hills diſſolve, the earth is burned at his preſence, yea the world, and all that dwell therein. Who can ſtand before his indignation? who can abide in the fierceneſs of his anger? Behold I am againſt thee, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, and I will ſhew the nations thy nakedneſs, and the kingdoms thy ſhame. The gates of the rivers ſhall be opened, and the palace ſhall be deſtroyed to

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its foundations; and Huzzab ſhall be led away captive. Take ye the ſpoil of ſilver, take the ſpoil of gold: for there is no end of the ſtore and glory out of all the gorgeous furniture. Nineveh is empty, and void, and waſte; the heart melteth, the knees ſmite together, much pain is in all loins, and the countenances of the people gather blackneſs. I ſee a multitude of ſlain; there is no end of their corpſes; they ſtumble upon the bodies of the dead. Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding-place of the young lions? where the old lion walked, with none to make him afraid; where he tore in pieces the prey for his young, and ſtrangled for his lioneſſes; filled his caverns with plunder, and his dens with rapine *. All that look upon thee ſhall flee from thee, and ſay, Nineveh is laid waſte, who will bemoan her? Art thou better than populous No, that was ſituate among the rivers, that had the waters for a wall, and whoſe rampart was the ſea? Ethiopia and Egypt were her ſtrength, and it was infinite. Yet was ſhe carried away, ſhe went into captivity; her young children were daſhed

* An alluſion to the rapacity of the Aſſyrian kings, who pillaged the neighbouring nations, particularly Judea and Iſrael, and carried their ſpoils to Nineveh.

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in pieces at the top of all the ſtreets; they caſt lots for her honourable men, and her great men were bound in chains. Thou, alſo, ſhalt be deſtroyed. Thy ſtrong holds ſhall be like fortreſſes with the firſt ripe figs, which, when ſhaken, fall into the mouth of him that gathers them. Behold thy people in the midſt of thee are women; the gates of thy land are ſet wide open to thine enemies. Thy princes ſlumber, O king of Aſſyria; thy nobles ſhall dwell in the duſt; thy people be ſcattered on the mountains, and no man to gather them. All that hear the ſound of thy fall ſhall rejoice over thee and clap their hands; for upon whom hath not thy wickedneſs paſſed continually *?"

When Nahum uttered this prophecy, Nineveh was the capital of the greateſt empire in the world. It was ſixty miles in circumference, populous and flouriſhing. The walls were a hundred feet high, ſo broad that three chariots could drive abreaſt on them, and were defended with fifteen hundred towers, two hundred feet in height. Yet, in the meridian of her proſperity, the prophet foreſaw her fall, and foretold, "that the Lord would deſtroy

* Nahum, chap. i. ii. iii.

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Aſſur;" depopulate the flouriſhing city, and turn the fruitful field into a deſert where no man cometh. The moment was marked when every remains of its antient greatneſs ſhould be razed, and its place ſhould not be known. Lucian, a native of the country, who flouriſhed in the ſecond century, affirms, that no traces of Nineveh remained in his time; and now its very ſituation is unknown. Such has been the conſummation of the divine vengeance, and the truth of the divine predictions!

THE Chaldean greatneſs ſucceeded to the Aſſyrian, and the ſeat of oriental empire was transferred from Nineveh to Babylon. Enriched with the ſpoils of the eaſt, and exulting in the day of her proſperity, the proud metropolis of Aſia ſeemed born to command the world. She ſaid in her heart, according to the language of the prophet, * "I am the queen of nations, and my reign is for ever. I am; and there is none elſe beſides me. I am exempted from that viciſſitude and decline which are incident to other nations. My deſtiny ſhall ſurvive coeval with thoſe ſtars in which the obſervers of the heavens have read the records of my perpetual duration." But her pride and luxury,

* Iſaiah xlvii. 7, 8, &c.

her

her cruelty to the Jews during their captivity at Babylon, and the ſacrilegious impiety of her monarch, wrought her downfal. She had been the inſtrument of the divine vengeance to puniſh guilty kingdoms, and the time was approaching when "the Lord was to break the ſtaff wherewith he had ſmote ſo many nations," and deſtroy the weapon of war which had been drunk with the blood of the people. More than a hundred years before the accompliſhment of this prediction, Iſaiah foretold the doom that was pronounced againſt Babylon, named the prince who was to fulfil this prophecy before he was born, deſcribed the minuteſt circumſtances relating to the ſiege and the taking of the city, and painted the perpetual deſolation of this once flouriſhing capital in every ſucceeding age.

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THE prophecy begins with the command of God to aſſemble the forces who were deſtined to execute the purpoſes of his vengeance. * "Lift ye up a banner upon the high mountain, exalt the voice unto them, ſhake the hand that they may go into the gates of the nobles. I have commanded my choſen ones. I have alſo ſet apart my mighty ones to execute my wrath. The noiſe

* Iſaiah xiii. 1, &c.

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of a multitude in the mountains like as of a great people! A tumultuous noiſe of the kingdoms of nations gathered together! The Lord of Hoſts muſtereth the hoſt of the battle. They come from a far country, from the end of heaven, even the Lord and the weapons of his indignation, to deſtroy the land of Chaldea. Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is at hand; it ſhall come as a deſtruction from the Almighty. Therefore ſhall hands be faint, and every man's heart ſhall melt; pangs and ſorrows ſhall take hold of them; they ſhall be in pain as a woman that travelleth. Behold the day of the Lord cometh, cruel with wrath and fierce anger. For the ſtars of heaven and the conſtellations thereof ſhall not give their light: the ſun ſhall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon ſhall not cauſe her light to ſhine. And I will puniſh the world for their wickedneſs: I will cauſe the arrogancy of the proud to ceaſe, and will lay low the haughtineſs of the terrible. Every one that is found ſhall be thruſt through; and every one that is joined to them ſhall fall by the ſword. Their children ſhall be daſhed to pieces before their eyes; their houſes ſhall be ſpoiled, and their wives raviſhed. Behold, I will ſtir up the Medes againſt them, which ſhall not regard

gard ſilver, and as for gold they ſhall not delight in it. Their bows alſo ſhall daſh the young men to pieces; and they ſhall have no pity on the fruit of the womb, their eye ſhall not ſpare children." CHAP. X.

THE predictions of the prophets became clearer as they approached the event that was foretold. Iſaiah at laſt mentions Cyrus by name, the Perſian prince who was choſen to be the inſtrument of Divine Providence, in executing his purpoſes both of vengeance and of mercy, and marks down the circumſtances and the manner in which Babylon was to be taken.

"THUS ſaith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whoſe right hand I have holden to ſubdue nations before him; and I will looſe the loins of kings; to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the portals ſhall not be ſhut: I will go before thee, and make the crooked places ſtraight. I will ſay to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry up the rivers; I will break in pieces the gates of braſs, and cut in ſunder the bars of iron; and I will give thee the treaſures of darkneſs, and hidden riches of ſecret places, that thou mayeſt know that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Iſrael, For Jacob my ſervant's ſake, and

Iſrael

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Iſrael mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have ſurnamed thee, though thou haſt not known me. I am the Lord, and there is no God beſides me: I girded thee, though thou haſt not known me: that they may know from the riſing of the ſun, and from the weſt, that I am the Lord, and that there is none elſe. I form the light, and create darkneſs; I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all theſe things *."

THE hiſtory of the taking of Babylon, which I have already given †, is the beſt commentary on this prediction. On the approach of an annual feſtival, at which the Babylonians were accuſtomed to ſpend the whole night in rioting and drunkenneſs, Cyrus contrived a ſtratagem to take poſſeſſion of the city. He diverted the courſe of the Euphrates into the great lake dug to receive its ſuperfluous waters during the inundation; he then ſtationed one diviſion of his army at the place where the river ran into Babylon, and another where it came out, ordering them to enter the city by its empty channel. The army having got

* Iſaiah xlv. 1, 2, &c. — The laſt verſe alludes to the doctrine of the Two Principles, which prevailed in Perſia.

† P. 133.

within

within the walls by the bed of the Euphrates, might have been taken there as in a net, if the brazen gates which led from the ſtreets to the river had not been providentially left open to give them admittance into the city now devoted to deſtruction. They entered, and a tumult having ariſen, the gates of the palace were opened by the king's orders, to enquire into the cauſe. The Perſians then ruſhed in, Belſhazzar was ſlain, and the doom of Babylon accompliſhed. The prodigious wealth which Cyrus obtained by the plunder of the city, called by the prophet "the treaſures of darkneſs, and the hidden riches of ſecret places," is alſo mentioned by the Greek hiſtorians. So clearly were the moſt minute and contingent circumſtances foreſeen and foretold by the inſpired prophet!

MANY other particulars attending this extraordinary event are deſcribed by Jeremiah. "Make bright the arrows, gather the ſhields; the Lord hath raiſed up the kings of the Medes; for his device is againſt Babylon to deſtroy it, becauſe it is the vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his temple. O thou that dwelleſt upon many waters, abundant in treaſures, thine end is come, and the meaſure of thy rapacity. The Lord of Hoſts hath ſworn by

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by himſelf, Surely I will fill thee with men as with clouds of deſtroying caterpillars; and they ſhall lift up a ſhout againſt thee. Set ye up a ſtandard in the land, blow the trumpet among the people; prepare the nations againſt her; call together the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Aſhchenaz; prepare againſt her the nations, with the king of the Medes, the captains, the rulers, and all the people of his dominion. The land ſhall tremble and mourn; for every purpoſe of the Lord ſhall be performed againſt Babylon, to make her a deſolation without an inhabitant. I will dry up her ſea, and make her ſprings dry. I have laid a ſnare for thee; and thou art alſo taken, O Babylon, when thou waſt not aware. The mighty men have forborne to fight; their ſtrength has failed, they became as women; her dwelling-places are burned, and her bars broken. One poſt ſhall run to meet another, and one meſſenger to meet another, to tell the king of Babylon that his city is taken. I will make drunk her princes, her wiſe men, her captains, and her rulers, and they ſhall ſleep a perpetual ſleep, and not awake, ſaith the King whoſe name is the Lord of Hoſts. The broad walls of Babylon ſhall be utterly broken, and her high gates ſhall be burned with fire.—

How is Sheſhach taken! How is the praiſe of the whole earth ſurpriſed! How is Babylon become an aſtoniſhment among the nations!" CHAP. X.

THE deſtruction of that proud and triumphant cap tal, which had ſo long oppreſſed the earth, and ſhed the blood of its inhabitants, is painted in various lights by the ſacred writers. Iſaiah has compoſed an ode on the occaſion, which for elegance of diſpoſition, ſublimity of ſentiment, boldneſs of colouring, beauty and force of expreſſion, ſtands unrivalled among all the monuments of genius which antiquity has tranſmitted to modern times. A chorus of Jews is firſt introduced, expreſſing their aſtoniſhment at the ſudden downfal of Babylon, and their exultation at the unexpected revolution in their affairs by the deſtruction of their tyrants.

"How hath the oppreſſor ceaſed! the golden city ceaſed! Jehovah hath broken the rod of the wicked, and the ſceptre of the rulers. He who ſmote the people in wrath with a continual ſtroke, he that ruled the nations in vengeance, is perſecuted, and none hindereth."

THE oppreſſed kingdoms and their rulers, denoted in the prophetic ſtyle by "the fir-

trees

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trees and cedars of Lebanon," are next repreſented as ſhouting with joy, and the earth with its inhabitants triumphing over the fall of the tyrant.

"THE whole earth is at reſt, is quiet, they break forth into a joyful ſhout: even the fir-trees rejoice over thee, the cedars of Lebanon: ſince thou art fallen no feller is come up againſt us."

THE ſcene is then changed, and a new ſet of perſonages introduced. The regions of the dead are laid open, and Hades repreſented as rouſing up the ſhades of the departed monarchs. They riſe from their thrones to meet the king of Babylon, and inſult him on his being reduced to the ſame humble and calamitous condition with themſelves. This is the boldeſt figure that has ever been attempted in poetical compoſition, and is executed with aſtoniſhing conciſeneſs and ſublimity. Conceive the idea of an immenſe ſubterraneous vault, a vaſt gloomy cavern, all around the ſides of which there are cells, in the manner of the Jewiſh ſepulchres, to receive the dead bodies: here the deceaſed monarchs lie in diſtinguiſhed ſtate, ſuitable to their former rank, each on his own couch, with his arms beſide him, and his chiefs around

around him. Theſe illuſtrious ſhades riſe at once from their couches, and advance from the entrance of the cavern to meet the king of Babylon, and to deride him on his fall. CHAP. X.

"HADES from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming; it rouſeth up the departed ſhades, the mighty of the earth; it raiſeth from their thrones all the kings of the nations; they triumph over thee, Art thou, even thou too become weak as we? Art thou made like unto us? Is thy pride brought down to the grave, the ſound of thy ſprightly inſtruments? Is the vermin become thy couch, and the earthworm thy covering?"

THE Jewiſh people are again brought forward uttering an exclamation in the form of a funeral dirge over the fallen tyrant.

"How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, ſon of the morning! how art thou cut off from the earth, thou who didſt ſubdue the nations! For thou haſt ſaid in thine heart, I will aſcend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the ſtars of God, I will be like the Moſt High. Yet thou art brought down to the manſions of the dead, and to the ſides of the pit."

STRANGERS are next introduced, who diſcover the corpſe of the king of Babylon, caſt

out

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out and disfigured among the common slain. They bitterly reproach him for his desolating ambition, which brought him to such an ignominious end, and denounce vengeance on his race and posterity.

"Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, that shook the kingdoms? That made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities? All the kings of the nations lie in glory, every one in his own house. But thou art cast out of thy grave like an abominable branch; as a carcase trodden under foot. Thou shalt not be joined with them in burial, because thou hast destroyed the land, and slain the people. Prepare slaughter for his children, for the iniquity of their fathers, that they do not rise nor possess the land, nor fill the face of the world with cities."

At last God himself is introduced, denouncing the doom of Babylon, the extirpation of the royal family, the utter destruction of the city, its total desolation from age to age; and confirming the irreversible decree by the awful solemnity of an oath.

"I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of Hosts, and I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, the son and the nephew. It shall become a heap of ruins, a dwelling-

place

place for dragons, an aſtoniſhment and an hiſſing, without an inhabitant *. And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, ſhall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It ſhall never be inhabited, neither ſhall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither ſhall the Arabian pitch his tent there, nor the ſhepherds make their folds there. But the wild beaſts of the deſert ſhall lurk in its ruins; the houſes ſhall be full of doleful creatures; there ſhall the owls dwell and the ſatyrs dance. And the wild beaſts of the iſland ſhall cry in their deſolate domes, and dragons in their pleaſant palaces. I will make it a poſſeſſion for the bittern and pools of water: and I will ſweep it with the beſom of deſtruction, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts. Jehovah hath ſworn, Surely as I have thought, ſo ſhall it come to paſs; and as I have purpoſed, ſo ſhall it ſtand †."

AT the preciſe period appointed this prediction was fulfilled. This great city, *the glory of kingdoms*, whoſe beauty, ſtrength, and magnificence, made it the wonder of the world, has ſhared the ruin of Sodom and Gomorrah.

* Iſaiah xiv. 4—25. † Ibid. xiii. 19. xiv. 23, 24.

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Not a trace of its ſplendor, or even a veſtige of its exiſtence, is now to be found. Its palaces, towers, and temples, are mouldered into duſt, and ſunk into a moraſs. So completely is the prediction of the prophet verified, and the place where it ſtood ſo infeſted with wild beaſts and ſerpents, that travellers inform us, they dare not come nearer to it than half a league; and thus it muſt ever remain, for it is doomed by the divine decree *never to be inhabited from generation to generation*.

NEXT to Babylon, Tyre was one of the moſt antient and flouriſhing cities in the world. It had long poſſeſſed the dominion of the ſeas, and was the emporium of the eaſtern trade by the Arabian gulph, as well as of the weſtern by the Mediterranean. The productions and manufactures of the various regions of the earth, whatever contributed to utility, or adminiſtered to luxury, were brought to its markets; and this varied abundance was diſperſed by the Tyrian merchants over all the nations around them. A long and uninterrupted ſeries of proſperity had corrupted the morals and ſwelled the pride of Tyre. Vanity, luxury, and voluptuouſneſs, infected her citizens, while ambition and cruelty no leſs diſtinguiſhed her rulers. She delighted to conſider

conſider herſelf as the queen of cities, whoſe merchants ranked with the princes and kings of the earth, and who beheld every maritime ſtate as dependent on her power, or allied to her greatneſs. She had now added to her former iniquities, impiety againſt the God of Iſrael, and cruelty towards his people. She had rejoiced with inſults over the ruins of Jeruſalem, had ſold the Jewiſh captives as ſlaves to the Gentiles, and carried away the conſecrated veſſels of the ſanctuary to adorn the temples of her falſe gods.

THIS profanation and oppreſſion drew down the vengeance of Heaven upon Tyre. The prophet Ezekiel, who denounces its deſtruction, introduces the king of Babylon aſſembling his army, raiſing the mounds, ſetting the engines, and ſhaking the walls.

"THUS ſaith the Lord God, Behold I will bring upon Tyrus Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, with chariots and with horſemen, and companies, and much people. He ſhall ſlay with the ſword thy daughters in the field; and he ſhall make a fort againſt thee, and caſt a mount, and lift up the buckler againſt thee. He ſhall ſet engines of war againſt thy walls, and with his axes he ſhall break down thy towers. Thy walls ſhall

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ſhake at the noiſe of the horſemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots, when he ſhall enter into thy gates. With the hoofs of his horſes ſhall he tread down all thy ſtreets; he ſhall ſlay thy people with the ſword, and thy ſtrong garriſons ſhall be brought down to the ground. They ſhall make a ſpoil of thy riches, and a prey of thy merchandiſe; they ſhall break down thy walls, and deſtroy thy palaces; and they ſhall lay thy ſtones, thy timber, and thy duſt, in the midſt of the waters. And I will cauſe the voice of thy ſongs to ceaſe, and the ſound of thy harps ſhall be heard no more. And I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou ſhalt be a place to ſpread nets upon; thou ſhalt be built no more, for I have ſpoken it, ſaith the Lord."

THE ſcene is then varied by the prophet. The iſles and adjacent regions ſhake as with a mighty earthquake, from the concuſſion occaſioned by the fall of Tyre. The groans of the dying reach the ears of the people inhabiting thoſe regions. Their princes tremble for Tyre and for themſelves.

"SHALL not the iſles ſhake at the ſound of thy fall, when the wounded cry, when the ſlaughter is made in thy ſtreets? Then all the princes of the ſea ſhall come down from their thrones,

thrones, lay aſide their robes, and put off their embroidered garments: they ſhall clothe themſelves with trembling, they ſhall ſit upon the ground, and be aſtoniſhed at thee. They ſhall take up a lamentation for thee, and ſay, How art thou deſtroyed, that waſt inhabited of ſeafaring-men, the renowned city, which waſt ſtrong in the ſea; ſhe and her inhabitants, which cauſed her terror to be on all that haunt her ports? Now ſhall the iſles tremble in the day of thy fall; yea, the iſles of the ſea ſhall be troubled at thy departure. For thus ſaith the Lord, When I ſhall make thee a deſolate city, when I ſhall bring up the deep upon thee, and great waters ſhall cover thee; when I ſhall bring thee down with them that deſcend into the pit, and ſhall ſet thee in the lower parts of the earth, in places deſolate of old; I will make thee a terror, and thou ſhalt be no more: though thou be ſought for, yet ſhalt thou never be found, ſaith the Lord God."

SUCH is the prediction concerning Tyre, and verified both in the City on the Continent, and that on the Iſland. Tyre on the Continent was reduced to ruins by Nebuchadnezzar; the City on the Iſland was deſtroyed by Alexander the Great. The latter uſed all the ſtones,

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rubbiſh, and earth of the old city, in making a cauſeway, to connect the iſland with the ſhore, by which means he obtained poſſeſſion of the city, and fulfilled that part of the prophecy which ſays, That her very duſt ſhould be collected, and her ſtones, her timber, and her earth, laid in the midſt of the waters. At preſent, and for ages paſt, this celebrated city is literally what the prophet foretold, "A bare rock, and a place to ſpread nets on." A late traveller, who viſited the ruins of Tyre, thus expreſſes himſelf *: "It is a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, and vaults, without ſo much as one entire houſe. Its preſent inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, harbouring themſelves in the vaults, and ſubſiſting chiefly by fiſhing, who ſeem to be preſerved in this place by Divine Providence, as a viſible argument how God has fulfilled his denunciation concerning Tyre, that it ſhould be *as the top of a rock, a place for fiſhers to dry nets on.*"

"The viciſſitudes of time," ſays the lateſt viſitant of theſe regions †, "and the barbariſm of the Greeks and the Mahometans, have accompliſhed the prediction relating to the fall

* Maundrell. † M. Volney, vol. ii. p. 225.

of

of Tyre. Inſtead of that antient commerce, ſo active and ſo extenſive, Tyre, reduced to a miſerable village, has no other trade than the exportation of a few ſacks of corn and raw cotton, nor any merchant but a ſingle Greek factor, in the ſervice of the French of Saide, who ſcarcely makes ſufficient profit to maintain his family."

THE predictions in the inſpired writings concerning the invaſion and conqueſt of Egypt, and the ſubſequent character of its inhabitants, is no leſs remarkable and ſtriking. This celebrated kingdom was diſtinguiſhed among the nations by its antiquity, ſplendor, military glory, and renown in the arts and ſciences. By tracing back their origin through a long ſeries of remote ages, *the ſons of antient kings* ſeem to have acquired a kind of eternity in empire, and promiſed to themſelves a ſimilar duration in ſubſequent ages. The extravagant pride and impiety of Pharaoh-Hophra, who affected divine honours, and confided ſo much in the ſtrength of his kingdom, that, according to an antient hiſtorian *, he boaſted "that the gods could not diſpoſſeſs him," brought upon him the vengeance of Heaven, of which

* Herodotus, lib. ii.

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Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon was the inſtrument. The prophet with great dignity addreſſes him under the image of one of thoſe crocodiles which inhabited that river of whoſe riches and revenue he vaunted; and denounces the divine judgments againſt him and his nation, ſubjecting them to the Babylonian yoke till that empire ſhould fall.

"THUS ſaith the Lord, Behold I am againſt thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midſt of his rivers, who has ſaid, The river is mine, and I have made it. Behold I will bring a ſword upon thee, and cut off man and beaſt out of the land: and I will make Egypt waſte and deſolate, from the tower of Syene even to the border of Ethiopia. Egypt ſhall become the baſeſt of the kingdoms: neither ſhall it exalt itſelf any more above the nations; for I will diminiſh them, and they ſhall no more rule over the people. Thus ſaith the Lord, I will make the multitude of Egypt to ceaſe by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon. He and his people, the terrible of the nations, ſhall be brought to deſtroy the land; and they ſhall draw their ſwords againſt Egypt, and fill the land with the ſlain. I will alſo deſtroy the idols, and I will cauſe their images to ceaſe out

out of Noph; and there ſhall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt. I will break the arm of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and lo it ſhall not be bound up to be healed, to make it ſtrong to hold the ſword. And I will ſcatter the Egyptians among the nations, and diſperſe them through the countries *."

THE prophet next deſcribes to Pharaoh the fall of the king of Nineveh, under the image of a fair cedar of Lebanon, once flouriſhing and majeſtic, but now cut down and withered, with its broken branches ſtrewed around. He then holds up to the king of Egypt the picture of his own fate, and informs him that the cataſtrophe of the Egyptian monarchs ſhould be like that of the Aſſyrian.

"BEHOLD, the Aſſyrian was a cedar in Lebanon with fair branches, and a ſhadowing ſhroud. The waters made him great, the deep ſet him up on high, with her rivers running around his plants. His height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his branches were multiplied becauſe of the abundance of waters. All the fowls of heaven made their neſts in his boughs, and beneath his branches did all the beaſts of the field bring

* Ezek. xxix. 3. 10. 14. xxx. 13. 21.

forth

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forth their young, and under his ſhadow dwelt all great nations. The cedars in Eden envied his height, and no tree in the garden of God was equal to him in beauty. But I delivered him into the hand of the mighty one of the heathen; and ſtrangers, the terrible of the nations, have cut him off: upon the mountains, and in all the vallies, are his branches fallen; his boughs are broken by all the rivers of the land; and all the people have gone down from his ſhadow, and have left him. I made the nations to ſhake at the ſound of his fall, when I caſt him down to Hades with them that deſcend to the pit. To whom art thou thus like in glory and in greatneſs among the trees of Eden? Yet thou ſhalt be brought down to the nether parts of the earth; thou ſhalt lie in the midſt of the uncircumciſed, with them that be ſlain by the ſword. This is Pharaoh and all his multitude, ſaith the Lord *."

As the kingdom of Egypt had made ſuch a diſtinguiſhed figure in the antient world, the deſtruction of it is afterwards predicted in another form; the ſeverity of its fate is deſcribed by eclipſes of the heavenly bodies, a figure in the prophetic writings to denote revolu-

* Ezek. xxxi. 3—18.

tions

tions in empire and the fall of kings. The prophet then, by the divine direction, orders a place in the lower regions of the earth for the king of Egypt and his hoſt; and bids thoſe who buried the ſlain drag him and his multitudes to the ſubterraneous manſions. At the tumult and commotion which this mighty work occaſions, the infernal ſhades are repreſented as rouſed from their couches to enquire the cauſe. They ſee and hail the king of Egypt, and again lie down to their ſlumbers. Pharaoh being now introduced into this ſubterraneous cavern, the prophet leads him all around the ſides of the pit; ſhews him the gloomy manſions of former tyrants; tells their names as he goes along; ſhews to what all their terror and pomp is come; and concludes with pointing out to Pharaoh the place deſtined for his laſting habitation.

"WHEN I ſhall extinguiſh thy luſtre, I will cover the heaven, and make the ſtars thereof dark; I will hide the ſun with a cloud, and the moon ſhall not give her light. All the bright luminaries of heaven will I obſcure over thee, and ſet darkneſs upon thy land. Many people ſhall be amazed at thee, and their kings ſhall tremble. Son of man, caſt down Egypt and her multitudes to the nether parts

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parts of the earth. The mighty of paſt times ſhall ſpeak to the king of Egypt out of the midſt of Hades. Aſſur * is there, and all her company; their graves are around, all of them ſlain, fallen by the ſword, which cauſeth terror in the land of the living. There is Elam †, and all her multitude, round about her grave, which are gone down uncircumciſed into the nether parts of the earth. There is Meſhech, Tubal ‡, and all her multitude; they have laid their ſwords under their heads, though they were the terror of the mighty in the land of the living. There are the princes of the North and the Sidonians, who bear their ſhame with them that go down to the pit. Pharaoh ſhall ſee them, and ſhall be comforted over all his armies that periſhed in battle. Terror ſhall ſeize the land of the living; and he ſhall be laid in the midſt of the uncircumciſed, with them that are ſlain by the ſword, even Pharaoh and all his multitude, ſaith the Lord God ‖."

SOME circumſtances in this prophecy are ſo ſingular and ſtriking, and have been ſo remarkably verified in the ſubſequent period of

* Aſſyria. † Perſia. ‡ The Scythians.
‖ Ezekiel xxxii. 7, 8. 18. 22, &c.

Egyptian

Egyptian history, that it is impossible not to recognize the divine wisdom by which they were foretold. It is denounced by the prophet, "*that the arm of Pharaoh should be broke, and no more hold the sword; that there should be no more a prince of the land of Egypt; and that Egypt should not exalt itself any more above the nations, but become the basest of the kingdoms.*"

At the time when this prediction was uttered Egypt was flourishing in arts and arms. Opulent at home and mighty abroad, the kingdom enjoyed the height of prosperity, carried on an extensive commerce, and cultivated the arts and sciences. Works of industry and of genius; splendid cities, lakes resembling seas, pyramids, temples, and stately monuments, announced present prosperity, and seemed to promise future dominion. But the time was marked in the divine decrees, when "*Egypt was to become the basest of kingdoms;*" the sceptre of the Pharaohs soon perished in their hands. For these two thousand years past Egypt has been a tributary kingdom, without a prince of its own, subjected to a foreign yoke, and often governed by slaves. It has submitted to every revolution in empire, and acknowledged the yoke of every conquering nation.

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tion. After having been invaded by the Chaldeans, it was ſubdued by the Perſians under Cyrus. Alexander the Great added it to his conqueſts, and the Romans annexed it to their dominions. After forming a province in the empire of Conſtantinople, it became ſubject to the caliphs in the reign of Omar. It was wreſted from the Saracens by the Mamlouks, or ſlave-uſurpers; and in the fifteenth century was annexed to the Ottoman empire, of which it ſtill forms a province. It is now governed by a Turkiſh pacha, whoſe authority is little more than nominal, and twenty-four begs or chiefs, who have uſurped the wealth and the power of the country. During the five hundred and fifty years in which theſe Mamlouk chiefs have decided the fate of Egypt, not one of them has left ſubſiſting iſſue; there does not exiſt a ſingle family of them in the ſecond generation; all their children periſh in the firſt or ſecond deſcent; and the race is continued by annual ſupplies of ſlaves from Georgia, Mingrelia, and the countries in the neighbourhood of the Caucaſus *. The Egyptians have been ſo long habituated to the yoke of ſervitude, that they are poſſeſſed

* Volney's Travels, vol. i. p. 107.

with

with a ſuperſtitious belief, that it is the decree of Fate, that foreign ſlaves muſt ever rule in Egypt, and the natives be ſubject. In ſuch an extraordinary manner has the prediction, revealed by HIM who alone foreſees futurity, been verified, "*That Egypt ſhould become the baſeſt of kingdoms, and not have a prince of her own to ſit upon the throne!*"

WHAT the prophets have foretold concerning the Jewiſh nation itſelf, is no leſs aſtoniſhing and marvellous. While they denounced the vengeance of Heaven and final deſtruction to all the neighbouring kingdoms that had conquered or oppreſſed Judea, they announce the perpetual preſervation of the choſen people, and point out the hand of Divine Providence extended in every age, to ſhield and defend them amidſt the wrecks of empire and the fall of nations.

"FEAR not, O Jacob, my ſervant, for I am with thee; be not diſmayed, O Iſrael; for I will make a FULL END of ALL THE NATIONS whither I have driven thee, but I will not make a FULL END OF THEE, but correct thee *in meaſure*."

SINCE the promulgation of this prophecy, the volume of univerſal hiſtory records its accompliſhment. The Egyptians, the Aſſyrians, the Chaldeans, the Macedonians, the Romans, who

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who ſucceſſively oppreſſed, ſubdued, or enſlaved the Jews, have long ſince cloſed their career of greatneſs, and have no more a name among the nations. Theſe mighty empires, which roſe on the ruins of one another, have vaniſhed from the earth, like the ſcenes of theatrical pomp, or the viſions of a morning dream. The deſcendants of the individuals which compoſed them are loſt and blended among the common maſs of mankind. But the Jews, though they have been diſperſed among all nations, have never been confounded with any. Notwithſtanding the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and their extermination from Judea, they ſtill preſerve their antient character, their national peculiarities, and are a diſtinct race among men. They have remained unmixed with all the people among whom they have been ſcattered; they can trace their pedigree to the remoteſt antiquity, and their deſcent from the blood of the patriarchs. In their preſent calamitous and diſperſed ſituation, they are witneſſes to all the world of the truth and divinity of that religion which was revealed to their fathers.

No ſubject can be more ſtriking to a philoſophical or a pious mind, than the contemplation of this long line of prophecies concerning the antient nations whoſe annals have been

been recorded. We diſcern not the policy of men, but the councils of God. We behold the Supreme Being himſelf opening the volume of his divine decrees, and diſcloſing futurity to the world. No attribute of the Deity is more aſtoniſhing and incomprehenſible to finite intellects than his preſcience of future events. To delineate beforehand the hiſtory of following ages; to mark the character and the deſtiny of nations unborn; to ſummon princes before they ſaw the light to their appointed parts in the drama of life; to ſtretch over opulent cities and flouriſhing kingdoms *the line of devaſtation, and the plummet of emptineſs*; to aſcertain the regions of poſſibility, and exert a ſupreme power over non-exiſtent nature, belongs only to HIM who beholds, as well as exiſts, from everlaſting to everlaſting. The events which we have gone over, ſo manifold, ſo varied, ſo minutely marked, and ſo remote from the time of their completion, could only have been foreſeen by the Omniſcience of that Being by whoſe Omnipotence they have been accompliſhed. Prophecy is a permanent miracle on earth: a voice which ſpeaks from heaven, and proclaims its Author to all nations and ages.

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Of GREECE.

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ANTIENT Greece comprehended that country which at preſent conſtitutes the ſouthern part of Turkey in Europe. It was bounded on the eaſt by the Egean ſea, now called the Archipelago, and on the weſt by the Ionian ſea or Adriatic gulph. Stretching on the north from a ridge of mountains which divide it from Macedoniona, and from the river Strymon by which it is parted from Thrace, it extends ſouthwards to the promontory of Tenarus, and the utmoſt extent of Peloponneſus. It is ſituated nearly in the middle of the northern temperate zone.

SITUATED between the thirty-ſixth and forty-firſt degree of latitude, Greece is every where ſurrounded by ſeas, except where it borders on Epirus and Macedonia. Theſſaly, the moſt northern province, is an extenſive and fruitful vale, ſurrounded by lofty mountains, and divided from Macedonia by Mount Olym-

pus.

pus. Contiguous ridges extend to the Ceraunian mountains, and terminate in the high and ſtormy promontory of Acroceraunus. Pindus on the weſt, and Oeta to the ſouth, form the boundaries of this province, which contains the celebrated mountains of Olympus, Pelion, and Oſſa. The river Peneus, after running between Oſſa and Olympus, and winding through a country variegated by woods and meadows, flows into the delicious vale of Tempe, which has been ſo much the theme of poetical deſcription. Between the foot of mount Oeta and the ſea lies the narrow defile of Thermopylæ, the only entrance on the eaſtern ſide to the ſouthern diſtricts of Greece. The tract extending from Epirus and Theſſaly to the iſthmus of Corinth contains ſeven provinces: Etolia and Arcarnania, defended on one ſide by mountains almoſt impaſſable, and confined on the other by dangerous ſeas; Doris, a mountainous and rocky region; Locris and Phocis, fertile plains, but of ſmall extent; Bœotia, a rich vale, abounding with ſeas and lakes, and almoſt ſurrounded by the mountains Parnaſſus, Helicon, Cythæron, and Parnes; and Attica, a rocky region, producing little corn or paſture, but abounding in fruits, particularly figs and olives. Theſe Grecian

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territories beyond the iſthmus extended two hundred and ſixty miles from eaſt to weſt, and one hundred and fifty from north to ſouth.

THE peninſula of Peloponneſus contains ſeven diſtricts: the narrow but extenſive coaſt of Achaia; the fruitful vale of Argos; the level countries of Elis and Meſſenia, adapted to tillage and abounding in corn; Arcadia, the central region, which is a cluſter of mountains; the large and fertile territory of Laconia, which is watered by the Eurotas; and the iſthmus of Corinth, which is narrow and mountainous. The Peloponneſus, extending near two hundred miles in length, and a hundred and forty in breadth, is every where interſected with mountains, particularly the lofty ridges of Taygetus and Zarex, which branch through Laconia to Tænarum and Malea, the two moſt ſouthern promontories of Greece *.

THE climate and ſoil of Greece are peculiarly excellent and delightful. Equally exempted from the chilling rigours of the pole and the ſultry heats of the torrid zone, almoſt every where ſurrounded by the ſea, the atmoſphere enjoys the happieſt temperature, and

* Strabo, lib. vii. Pauſan. Meſſen.

abounds

abounds with every influence ſalutary to life, and propitious to man. The long winding range of ſea-coaſt is indented with excellent harbours; the vales afford rich paſtures; the middle grounds corn, wine, and oil; and of the mountains by which it is defended and adorned, ſome are covered with lofty woods, ſome compoſed of the fineſt marble, others enriched with veins of the valuable metals. The felicity of the ſoil and climate, ſo friendly to animal as well as vegetable life, is peculiarly favourable to the organization of man. No region of the globe has ever produced the human form in ſuch elegant proportions and exquiſite beauty; or exhibited the human mind poſſeſſed of greater ſenſibility and force, or endued with faculties and talents ſo various and vivid.

THE aborigines of Greece, like the firſt inhabitants of every country, were compoſed of ſavage tribes, who wandered in the woods without government or laws, and had little intercourſe or communication with one another. They cloathed themſelves with the ſkins of wild beaſts; retreated for ſhelter to rocks and caverns; lived on acorns, wild fruits, and raw fleſh; and devoured the enemies whom they ſlew in battle.

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AGREEABLE to the uſual progreſs of ſociety, the life of ſhepherds ſucceeded to that of ſavages. The migrating ſpirit and mutual depredations of neighbouring tribes has always characterized this ſtate. Accordingly we find, that in very early times many different and unknown people over-ran Greece, ſometimes mixing with the antient inhabitants, and ſometimes expelling them *. The rich vales which, by their ſpontaneous fertility, ſatisfied the paſtoral poſſeſſors were the coveted territories; and theſe were continually changing their inhabitants. The verdant mead, the flouriſhing grove, the limpid ſtream, ſucceſſively bleſſed the ſtrongeſt and moſt valiant. The richeſt plains of Greece became the ſcenes of continual war, while the vanquiſhed tribes went in queſt of unoccupied territories, or in their turn drove out a feebler race. The general diſorders that neceſſarily took place in that ſtate of ſociety which is denominated barbarous, when the laws of the ſtrongeſt prevailed, and poſſeſſions were held by the tenure of the ſword, prevented neighbouring and rival tribes from ſettling in a fixed abode, and coaleſcing into one nation.

* Strabo, lib. v. and vii. Thucid. lib. i. cap. 2.

THE

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THE phyſical form of Greece added to theſe obſtacles in the way to civilization and refinement. Greece is cut by a chain of mountains, which forming ſeveral ſinuoſities, and throwing branches from one ſide to another, divide it into ſeparate vallies, and raiſe above each barriers, which ſhut them up on all ſides. The northern provinces, Theſſaly and Bœotia, the firſt ſubjects of early tradition and antient hiſtory, were incloſed by mountains, and ſubject to inundations.

Theſſaly and Bœotia.

THESSALY was originally one vaſt lake, without a viſible outlet, till an earthquake rending Olympus from Oſſa, formed the valley of Tempe *. Leſſer floods ſeem alſo to have co-operated to expoſe this country to revolutions. When Homer makes Achilles the ſon of a goddeſs, and the ſecond in deſcent by the paternal line from Jove, he gives a ſtrong teſtimony to the convulſions in theſe early times, and the recent population of the country, as in the language of barbarous periods every thing new or uncommon comes down from heaven †.

* Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 129. Strabo, lib. viii. p. 430.

† Such were the ideas and expreſſions of the Americans when that country was firſt diſcovered.

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BOEOTIA is a vale full of ſubterraneous caverns, and ſubject to earthquakes. The ſurrounding mountains pour in their torrents on all ſides, and form rivers and lakes, without ſuch permanent outlets as the valley of Tempe gives to the waters of Theſſaly. The flood of Ogyges was an uncommon inundation in this country, and drove the ſurviving inhabitants to ſeek for refuge in the mountainous province of Attica. The flood of Deucalion was a calamity of a ſimilar kind in the provinces adjacent to Dodona, and the river Achelous *. Theſe revolutions and phenomena concurred to prolong the ſtate of ignorance, barbarity, depredation, and ſlaughter, among the firſt inhabitants of Greece.

WHILE tribes remain unconnected and inſulated, there is no communication of ideas; knowledge is limited to the obſervation and experience of the individual; and the laſt generation is no wiſer than the firſt. Confeſſed wants, deſired ſociety, mutual communication, the intercourſe of man with man, and of nation with nation; theſe are the moving powers that have raiſed the edifice of refinement and the arts. Whatever tends to bring

* Ariſtot. Meteorolog. lib. i. cap. 14.

mankind

mankind together; to wear off the aſperity and prejudices of rival tribes; to form bonds of union, and to connect them in the ſame occupations and amuſements; have been among all nations the firſt ſteps to improvement.

EVILS in nature tend to cure themſelves; and the firſt inſtitutions in ſociety take their origin from violence and diſorder. Sudden incurſions, mutual depredations, robbery by land, and piracy by ſea, forming the genius of barbarous times, lead to leagues and confederacies for common ſafety and defence.

Amphictyonic league. A. ante Ch. 1500.

THE firſt bond of union among the Greeks was the aſſembly of Amphictyons *. Like all political inſtitutions, it was at firſt inconſiderable; nor did it arrive to its full ſtrength and luſtre but by gradual advances, and in a long ſeries of years. The origin of this council is commonly aſcribed to Amphictyon, the ſon of Deucalion, an antient king of Theſſaly: but the account of Androtion, quoted by Pauſanias, is more natural and probable; that it was an aſſembly of neighbours for mutual ſafety and defence. The utility of ſuch an inſtitution, in times of barbarity and diſorder, ſoon appeared. Acquiring freſh forces from

* Αμφικτιονες.

their

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their union, the Grecian ſtates began to act with concert, and to undertake diſtant expeditions.

Ante Ch. 1263.

THE firſt of theſe was the expedition of the Argonauts, a real event, though blended with fiction. Homer, the chronicler of heroic times, mentions it in the Iliad. When Jaſon, Admetus, and the other chieftains of Theſſaly, proclaimed their intention over the neighbouring provinces, the ſtandard of glory was ſpeedily ſurrounded by the flower of the Grecian youth. Peleus, Tydeus, Telamon, the fathers of thoſe heroic chiefs, who, in the ſucceeding age, diſplayed their valour in the plains of Troy, are numbered among the leaders of the Argonauts. They directed their courſe to Colchis, on the eaſtern coaſt of the Euxine ſea, a country in ſome degree civilized by an Egyptian colony, and abounding in gold, ſilver, and iron mines. It was a practice of the Colchians to extend fleeces of wool acroſs the beds of the torrents, to collect the golden particles which were carried down from Mount Caucaſus *: hence the adventure was named the expedition of the Golden Fleece. The Argonauts ſucceeded in their enterprize, and

* Strabo, lib. xi. p. 499.

carried

carried off the celebrated Medea, the daughter of king Aetas. While Greece began to move as a whole, the particular parts arranged themſelves in a more perfect order, and having felt the advantages of political confederacy, began to perceive the benefits of civil union. CHAP. XI.

Minos gives laws to the Cretans. A. ante Ch. 1406.

CRETE exhibited the firſt example of a regular community governed by laws. The wiſe inſtitutions and policy of the Cretans are the moſt antient, and, according to Plato and Ariſtotle, the beſt regulations that ever were eſtabliſhed in any portion of the Grecian dominions. The celebrity of this iſland, and the antiquity of its civilization, appear from the fables of the poets, who make it the birth-place of Jupiter and Saturn. Hiſtory is no leſs decided in its praiſe, by repreſenting it as the parent of ingenious inventions and uſeful improvements to the continent of Greece. It was early planted by a colony of Dorians. According to Homer * five different hordes held poſſeſſion of the iſland, all apparently free. The neceſſity of defence, in an age when the ſea was covered with robbers, and piracy was held honourable, ſuggeſted the idea of government; and the vi-

* Odyſſ. lib. xix. ver. 175.

cinity

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cinity of the Cretans to the ſhores of Phœnicia and the coaſt of Egypt, gave them an early intercourſe with nations more refined than themſelves. The firſt inſtitutions of policy are referred to Rhadamanthus; the final improvement is aſcribed to Minos, who, from his numerous voyages and ſignal victories at ſea, is diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Son of the Ocean. The form of government is ſuch as we might expect from the firſt efforts of a rude people towards civilization. The idea of private property in land was unknown. The ſoil was cultivated by ſlaves, not for individuals, but for the ſtate; the free citizens ate together at the public tables; and their families were ſubſiſted from the common ſtock. The authority of the prince was great in war, but limited in peace. The inſtitution of magiſtrates, one of the earlieſt advances to regular government, and the diſcriminating mark between ſavage nations and civilized, was wiſely adapted to the ſituation of the people. A ſevere morality was enforced by law; a proof of former irregularities and diſorders. The youth were conſidered as members of the community; educated in public, and early trained to arms *.

* Ariſt. Polit. lib. ii. ch. 9 and 10.

The

The ſame diſtinction of profeſſions took place in Crete which was eſtabliſhed in Egypt and the eaſt *. From the prodigious number of ſlaves, diſtinguiſhed in antiquity by the name Periæcians, it is probable that the antient inhabitants had been conquered and reduced to ſubjection by the Grecian colony of Dorians. Minos, like all the legiſlators of antiquity, pretended to celeſtial communications, and frequently retired into a cave to hold intercourſe with Jupiter. From his divine authority he derived his regal ſceptre, his ſyſtem of laws, and political inſtitutions. The power which he had acquired by his pretences to inſpiration, he confirmed and extended by his valour and enterprize. He directed the power of the ſtate againſt thoſe pirates who infeſted the ſeas; eſtabliſhed ſecurity throughout the Egean; and is celebrated as the firſt Grecian prince who acquired the ſovereignty of the ocean.

SUCH was the origin and the nature of the Cretan polity, which ſuggeſted improvements to Athens, and ſerved as a model to Lacedemon.

THE ſecond Minos, king of Crete, ſupported the renown of his celebrated anceſtor.

* Ariſt. Polit. lib. vii. ch. 10.

He

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He ſubdued ſeveral of the circumjacent iſles; checked the piratical depredations of the Carians and Phœnicians; and ſubjected Athens to a yearly tribute of ſeven youths, and as many virgins. The tributary captives were drawn by lot from the body of the people, who trembled at the annual return of the Cretan veſſel. Murmurs and complaints aroſe againſt the government of Egeus, when Theſeus offered his life in the ſervice of his country. The fame of Theſeus had already reached the ears of Minos, and his reſpect was converted into admiration, when he beheld the Athenian prince a voluntary captive. Minos received him with affection and hoſpitality proportioned to his merit, gave him his daughter Ariadne in marriage, and thenceforth delivered the Athenians from a contribution equally cruel and ignominious *.

THE lines of truth are viſible in this ſtory, though it has been diſguiſed and embelliſhed by the fictions of the poets. This expedition to Crete laid the foundation of the improvements afterwards introduced by Theſeus into the Athenian government, and gradually adopted by the neighbouring provinces. Be-

* Odyſſ. lib. xi. ver. 320. Mitford, p. 44, &c.

fore

fore the time of Theſeus, Attica was divided into twelve villages, altogether independent of each other; each enjoying a ſeparate juriſdiction; governed by magiſtrates and cuſtoms of their own; frequently at war with each other, and ſometimes with the ſovereign; and without any bond of union, but their acknowledgment of one chief, whoſe authority was not ſufficient to prevent or puniſh diſorders. Such a ſituation opened a ſource of perpetual diſſenſions and hoſtilities; and each particular ſtate was in miniature what the whole country had been before the era of the Amphictyons. Theſeus, who had beheld in the more refined kingdom of Crete the royal authority maintained while the liberties of the people were preſerved, availed himſelf of the celebrated name which he had acquired to reform the Athenian government. He diſſolved the independent courts and juriſdictions in the ſeveral towns and diſtricts; ordered the halls where they held their councils to be demoliſhed; appointed a common-council for all the inhabitants of Attica; and built the prytaneum, or court-hall, for the meeting of this aſſembly *. From the example of Crete alſo,

* Plut. in Theſ.

he

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he saw the connection between religion and policy, and fortified his institutions by pious solemnities and ceremonies. He instituted the *panathenea*, as a common feast and sacrifice in honour of Athena or Minerva, for all the inhabitants of Attica, who, under the immediate protection of the goddess, thenceforth bore her name. To enlarge and people the capital, he invited strangers from all quarters, offering them the rights and privileges which were enjoyed by the citizens. He divided the Athenians, or rather found them divided, into three classes; the nobles, the husbandmen, and the mechanics: the executive and judicial powers, with the superintendency of religion, were appropriated to the former; the latter enjoyed freedom, and formed the legislative assembly. Thus Theseus became the founder of Athens and of regal government, and in a similar manner the first kingdoms of Greece were formed.

Ante Ch. 1184.

THE war of Troy, which happened about seventy-nine years after the expedition of the Argonauts, affords a still stronger proof of the improvement to which Greece attained by the union of its different states. The first inhabitants of Greece and Asia Minor descended from a common origin, as, from the earliest accounts of time, they observed the same customs,

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toms, worſhipped the ſame gods, and ſpoke the ſame language. The weſtern coaſt of Aſia Minor is a pictureſque and delightful country, and even excels Greece in fertility of ſoil and ſoftneſs of climate. Many circumſtances contributed to the rapid improvement and civilization of the inhabitants. The extent of the Aſiatic plains, not divided like Greece by mountains and ſeas into ſmall portions of difficult acceſs, ſeems deſtined by nature to be the ſeat of powerful kingdoms. Little haraſſed by the incurſions of barbarous tribes, except towards the ſea-coaſt, they cultivated the arts, from the example of the Phrygians and Lydians, who flouriſhed in opulence and tranquillity from the earlieſt ages *. The kingdom of Troy had ſubſiſted five generations prior to the reign of Priam. An antient animoſity, owing to mutual depredations, had long prevailed between the Greeks and Aſiatics, and an hereditary quarrel taken place between the families of Priam and Agamemnon †. The rape of the beautiful but unfortunate Helen, by Paris, furniſhed a freſh occaſion of hoſtilities; and a perſonal injury was conſidered as an affront to the whole na-

* Herod. lib. i. † Diodor. lib. iv.

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tion. The authority of Agamemnon, brother of Menelaus the injured husband; the extensive power of the family of Pelops, who were connected by propinquity, marriage, or alliance, with almost all the Grecian princes; the spirit of a barbarous age that delighted in military expeditions; the hopes of returning with renown, and laden with the spoils of Asia; soon induced the ardent warriors of Greece to flock to the standard of the confederated princes, and revenge the cause of their country. The preparations for the Trojan war were long. Ten years elapsed between the rape of Helen and the departure of the Greeks. Nor is the length of time surprising. No such enterprize had ever been attempted in Greece. The whole nation had confederated to make war for the first time. Assembling a great army, and equipping a numerous fleet, they had many precautions to take, and plans to form, with regard to their distant expedition, as they could expect no resources in Asia but those which they were to procure by the sword.

THE historian of this war is Homer, whose inimitable poems are the most antient monuments of Grecian story. Epic poetry supposes the truth of events, though it admits of their embellishment. Homer arranges his incidents in

in poetical order, and heightens the luſtre of heroic action, yet he builds on tradition; and as he poſſeſſed all the knowledge of his own times, he gives us the moſt accurate and perfect information concerning the religion, government, character, and manners of the heroic ages. As the Iliad of Homer is in the hands of the world, it is unneceſſary to give the particulars of the expedition. After a ſiege of ten years Troy was taken and ſet on fire. The taking of this city, 1184 years before the Chriſtian era, is a celebrated epoch in the hiſtory of Greece. This war gave the firſt public diſplay of Grecian valour; exhibited the Greeks and the Aſiatics engaged in a fair field; and taught the world that Europe was deſtined to command Aſia. The "tale of Troy" was celebrated by all the poets of antiquity; furniſhed the ſubject of the two moſt perfect epic poems in the world, the Iliad and the Æneid; and paſſing into the poetry of all nations, became the everlaſting entertainment of ſucceeding ages *.

THE glory of the Greeks was purchaſed at a dear price; their triumphs were mournful. No event was ever more ruinous to a nation

* Eternel entretien de ſiéclis avenir. Racine.

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than this expedition to Asia. The flower of the nation was cut off in the Trojan plains; their most gallant chiefs and heroes perished in the war; the miserable remains of an army, consisting of more than a hundred thousand men, after having been tossed about on all the seas, and diminished by the disasters of a tempestuous voyage, found nothing on their arrival at home but disappointment and despair. During the long absence of the chiefs and princes from their native country, a door was opened to licentiousness and disorder. Expelled by usurpers, the warriors of Troy wandered from place to place in quest of new habitations, and addicted themselves to a predatory life. The Trojans who survived the destruction of their country lived in a similar manner. The concurrence of these events produced a nursery of robbers and pirates, who for many years troubled the repose of the seas and the continent. Society went back to the period of barbarity again; disunited tribes began to live by plunder; Greece was without movement, and continued in a state of mournful tranquillity, always an unnatural state for Greece.

A NEW event awakened them from this state, and put again all Greece in motion.

Eighty

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Eighty years after the deſtruction of Troy a great revolution took place, which totally changed the affairs of the Peloponneſus, and in its conſequences gave new inhabitants to the whole weſtern coaſt of Aſia Minor. The rival families of Perſeus and Pelops antiently contended for the dominion of the Grecian peninſula. The fortune of the Pelopidæ prevailed, and the deſcendants of Hercules, the moſt illuſtrious hero of the Perſeid line, were diveſted of their poſſeſſions, and driven into baniſhment. The exiles were firſt received by the Athenians, whoſe enlightened and humane policy rendered Attica the common refuge and aſylum of the miſerable. Their leader Hyllus was afterwards adopted by Epalius the king of Doris, and the death of their benefactor ſoon raiſed the deſcendants of Hercules from the condition of ſuppliant exiles to that of ſovereign princes. But the wilds of Oeta and Parnaſſus were little fitted to ſatisfy the heirs of the family of Perſeus. Their ambition was long repreſſed by the growing greatneſs of the Pelopidæ and the glory of Agamemnon. After the diſaſters of that prince, they twice attempted, unſucceſſfully, to break through the Corinthian iſthmus, and to recover their antient dominion

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in Argos and Lacedemon. At length Temenus, Creſphontes, and Ariſtodemus, great grandſons of Hyllus, aſſociating with themſelves their kinſman Oxylus, an Ætolian chieftain, croſſed the Corinthian gulph from Naupactus, with a powerful army, to reclaim poſſeſſion of Peloponneſus. They defeated Teſamenus, the ſon of Oreſtes, and divided his kingdoms. Creſphontes took poſſeſſion of Meſſenia; Temenus of Argos; Ariſtodemus falling in the courſe of the war, his twin-ſons, Euryſthenes and Procles, were made joint kings of Lacedemon; Corinth was given to Aletes, alſo a deſcendant of Hercules; and Eleia was allotted to Oxylus.

THIS revolution in Peloponneſus was followed by a general commotion. The nations who were firſt attacked threw themſelves upon their neighbours. The people, impelled by one another, ſought for new eſtabliſhments. The Trojan war had made them acquainted with Aſia Minor, which now offered an aſylum to the wandering tribes. The Acheans, expelled from Laconia by the Dorians, firſt ſettled in theſe new abodes; fixed their habitation between Ionia and Myſia; and gave the whole country the name of Æolia, from their anceſtor Æolus.

THE

THE Ionians, compelled to quit Peloponneſus, took refuge in Attica; but multiplying to ſuch a degree that the country could not maintain them, Nileus, the ſon of Codrus, conducted them to Aſia. They ſettled in a region that was bounded by Caria and by Lydia, and called the whole country by the name of Ionia.

THE third colony which paſſed at this period from Greece to Aſia was compoſed of Dorians, who, diſſatisfied with Megara, which had been allotted to them, eſtabliſhed themſelves in that part of the Leſſer Aſia, which from them was called Doria. They built Halicarnaſſus, Cnidus, and other cities, and ſpread themſelves into Rhodes, Cos, and the adjacent iſlands.

FOUR diſtinctions of the Grecian people now aroſe out of the two original hordes, the Ionian and Æolian. Four principal dialects marked theſe diſtinctions: the Attic uſed by the Athenians; the Ionic by the people of Ionia; the Doric by the Lacedemonians and Argives; and the Æolic by the Bœotians and the inhabitants of Æolia.

THE return of the Heraclidæ, or the Dorian conqueſt, produced a revolution in Peloponneſus, and changed the ſtate of Greece. The Ar-

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gian princes of the family of Pelops, from length of time, had gained ſuch eſtabliſhed power, and the legal pre-eminence which they claimed ſeems to have been ſo generally admitted, that under them one government in ſome degree pervaded the peninſula; the adminiſtration of law gained conſiſtency and form; civility advanced, and the arts began to appear. But the Dorian conqueſt checked the progreſs of refinement, and introduced that ſtate of rudeneſs and barbarity in which the new lords of the country had lived among their native mountains. The firſt care of the conquering chiefs was to ſecure their acquiſitions againſt any attempts of their former poſſeſſors; the next ſeems to have been to prevent aſpiring individuals from acquiring a ſuperiority over the reſt. By theſe they hoped to provide againſt foreign invaſion and domeſtic jealouſy. But in the partition of their country cauſes of diſcord aroſe. The boundaries of their ſeveral allotments, inaccurately aſcertained, led to diſputes and hoſtilities. After ſo violent a revolution, alſo, the unſettled ſtate of government frequently called for the ſtrong arm of power to repreſs outrage and enforce order. Violence aroſe ſometimes on the part of the princes *;

* Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 13. Ariſt. lib. iv. cap. 13.

and

and a people unpoliſhed, but high ſpirited, who had conquered for themſelves as well as their chieftains, were little diſpoſed to ſubmit to any exertion of authority not warranted by eſtabliſhed cuſtoms. Thus in every ſtate internal diſſenſions were ſeldom interrupted but by external war; and Peloponneſus was relapſing into a ſtate of anarchy and barbariſm, ſimilar to that in which it had exiſted before Pelops and Hercules. As a counterpoiſe to theſe calamities, there were two Grecian inſtitutions which tended gradually to introduce tranquillity and order. We have mentioned the aſſembly of Amphictyons as one of the firſt bonds of union and ſources of improvement among the Greeks.

THE return of the Heraclidæ, otherwiſe productive of much diſorder and bloodſhed, greatly extended the ſalutary influence of the Amphictyonic council. As the Dorians were conſtituent members of that aſſembly, all the ſtates where their power was eſtabliſhed were entitled to the ſame privilege. Athens, chief of the Ionic tribe, was alſo an Amphictyonic ſtate; and all ſtates of Ionic origin thence derived or claimed a right to have their repreſentatives in that celebrated council. Every independent ſtate had a right of itſelf, or in conjunction

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conjunction with another, to ſend two deputies to the aſſembly. One, under the title of Pylagoras, who was entruſted with the civil concerns of his conſtituents, was elected by the ſuffrages of his fellow-citizens; the other, called Hieromnemon, from his particular privilege of ſuperintending religion and its ceremonies, was appointed by lot. The vernal meeting was held at Delphi; the autumnal at Thermophylæ. The intention of this confederacy, the nature of their juriſdiction, and the extent of their power, may be gathered from the oath taken by every member of the council, preſerved in an oration of Æſchines*. "I ſwear that I will never ſubvert any Amphictyonic city; I will never ſtop the courſes of their water either in war or in peace. If any ſuch outrages be committed, I will oppoſe them by force of arms, and deſtroy thoſe cities which are guilty of ſuch attempts. If any devaſtation ſhall be committed in the territory of the god; if any ſhall be privy to ſuch an offence, or entertain any deſign againſt the temple, I will uſe my hands, my feet, my whole force, to bring the offending party to condign puniſhment." The moſt dreadful

* Æſchin. de Falſa Legat. Vide alſo Leland, Hiſt. Phil. Macedon.

imprecations

imprecations were denounced againſt thoſe who ſhould violate this oath. From this it appears, that the aſſembly of Amphictyons was a confederacy for mutual ſafety and defence, confirmed by the ſanctions of religion. This inſtitution eſtabliſhed a kind of law of nations among the Greeks, tended to check the violence of internal war, and to prevent the horrors incident to the barbarity of former times.

RELIGION has ever been the moſt effectual ſupport of human laws and inſtitutions; and no inſtance occurs in hiſtory of a people having been civilized and brought under ſubordination to legal government, without the influence of a real or pretended intercourſe with Heaven. Delphi was the principal ſeat of the Grecian religion, and the oracle of Apollo eſtabliſhed there was the moſt celebrated of all antiquity. The Dorian conqueſt contributed to ſpread its importance and celebrity. Superſtition, which is as antient and univerſal as human nature, had been formed into a regular ſyſtem in Egypt from the earlieſt accounts of hiſtory. A prodigious and crowded population rendered a refined polity neceſſary; the magnificence of temples, the ſplendor of ceremonies, the frequency of feſtivals,

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tivals, the ſolemnity of myſteries, impreſſed the multitude with religious awe; and the nobility of the nation, forming at the ſame time the hereditary prieſthood, had a powerful aſcendency over the minds of a gloomy and ſuperſtitious nation. The prediction of future events was a part of their office, and a great engine of their power. From the account delivered to Herodotus by the prieſts of Dodona *, it is probable that the Grecian oracles took their riſe from this native land and celebrated ſeat of ſuperſtition. In the fabulous language of antiquity, a black pigeon flew from Thebes in Egypt to Dodona, and perching on an oak, proclaimed with a human voice, "That an oracle of Jupiter ſhould be eſtabliſhed." Or, as interpreted by the hiſtorian, a female attendant belonging to the temple of Jupiter, at Thebes on the Nile, had been carried off by Phœnician pirates to Theſprotia, and there ſold as a ſlave. Senſible of the ſuperiority which her education in a more civilized country, and her attendance on the temple of Jupiter, gave her over ignorant barbarians, ſhe availed herſelf of theſe advantages, and pretended to diſcloſe ſecrets and foretel future

* Herod. lib. ii. cap. 54.

future events. Under the ſhade of a venerable oak ſhe delivered, in the name of Jupiter, myſterious anſwers to the wondering multitude: her reputation and ſucceſs increaſed by the credulity and admiration of the people; a temple was built to Jove, and the oracle of Dodona eſtabliſhed.

SIMILAR inſtitutions prevailed in various provinces of Greece; but the moſt celebrated of all was the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. On the ſouthern ſide of Parnaſſus, the mountain-crags form a natural amphitheatre of difficult acceſs. In the midſt was a deep cavern which none could approach without trembling and horror. From this opening aſcended an exhalation which made the head turn giddy. Among people, unenlightened by philoſophy, the phrenzy occaſioned by this vapour paſſed for a divine afflatus or inſpiration; and it was believed, that in this myſterious manner a god communicated his will to mortal men. Around this cavern the temple of Apollo was built; and on the mouth of the chaſm a tripod was placed, elevated on which, and ſurrounded by prophets, a ſelected virgin delivered the oracles of the god. It was only on particular days, called happy, that the Pythian prieſteſs ſaw into futurity and

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and prophesied. For that purpose she prepared herself by purifications, fasts, and sacrifices. When the fortunate day arrived, the laurel-tree that grew before the gate of the temple, and the earth around it, were perceived to shake. Soon as the virgin was intoxicated with the vapour, her hair stood erect, her look grew wild, she foamed at the mouth, and appeared altogether frantic. Then she uttered several indistinct words, which the priests carefully collected, and afterwards arranged according to their pleasure; for these responses were almost always dark, enigmatic, and capable of different interpretations.

Before the Heraclidæ set out on their expedition to recover the dominions of their ancestors they consulted this oracle; and receiving a favourable response, which was confirmed by subsequent events, they diffused the fame and enlarged the influence of the Delphian shrine. It became the object of universal veneration to barbarians as well as Greeks, and its celebrity soon extended over the world. The affairs of public and private life were under its direction. No business of moment, in war or in peace, among nations or individuals, was undertaken and carried on without consulting the oracle. In circumstances

ſtances of calamity and diſtreſs, of perplexity and doubt, conſolation and relief were ſought from the inſpiration of the Delphian ſhrine. Offerings on theſe occaſions were neceſſary; the great and the opulent endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the deity by donations of great value. Afterwards vanity came in aid to ſuperſtition, in bringing riches to the temple. The names of thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed by their pious benefactions were always regiſtered; and when ſtatues, tripods, and other valuable ornaments were given, they were publicly exhibited in honour of the giver. During the age of Homer, the magnificence and opulence of Delphi were already proverbial; and when Xerxes undertook his memorable expedition againſt Greece, the dedications at the ſhrine, accumulated from the ſuperſtition and vanity of nations and ages, were held equivalent to the revenues of the monarch of Aſia *.

The ſuperintendence of this precious depoſitory belonged to the Amphictyons. Their importance gradually roſe from this patronage, till in the courſe of time they attained to the chief direction of all affairs in Greece. Dif-

* Diſſertat. ſur l'Oracl. par M. Hardion.

ference

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ference of times and circumstances produced an alteration in this as in all other institutions; but the general intention of the assembly, and the great object of its directors, was to form a complete representation of all Greece; or, as it is called by Cicero, who translates Demosthenes, *commune Græciæ concilium*.

THE origin of things in nature appears inadequate to their completion. The temple of Apollo at Delphi, so renowned in antiquity, was at first no more than a thatched cottage, overshadowed with the branches of a laurel which grew before the gate. The assembly of Amphictyons, at the beginning merely an association of neighbours for mutual defence, united at length in one plan of politics the unconnected or hostile powers; became the centre of union to distant and divided states; proved the great spring of action in Greece; and, by the unanimity which it inspired, enabled the Greeks to defend their liberty against the collected force of the Persian empire *.

THE revival, or rather institution, of the Olympic games, in the period which we are now contemplating, farther contributed to al-

* Thirty-one Amphictyonic cities undertook the defence of Greece in the Persian war. Plutarch. in Themistocl.

lay

lay the animosities of war and contention, to unite the Grecian name, and to hasten the progress of civilization and refinement. From time immemorial it had been customary among the Greeks to hold frequent meetings for trials of strength and activity, expressive of their character, and carrying a reference to that state of perpetual warfare which prevailed in the more antient times of Greece. As an image and representation of war, the passion of the times, they were introduced at funerals, in honour of departed heroes *. That elegance of imagination which was congenial to the Greeks, and which distinguished them from other nations in every period of their history, joined to the contention of arms a gentler contest for a prize in the arts of poetry and music. Homer assisted at a festival of this kind in the island of Delos †; and, on a similar occasion at Cholchis in Eubæa, Hesiod obtained the prize for music and verse ‡. These poetical contests were connected with the ceremonies of religion, and made a part of the worship of Apollo. These games consisting

* Iliad, lib. xxiii. ver. 630. Odyss. lib. xxiv. ver. 87.
† Thucyd. lib. iii.
‡ Hesiod. Op. and Di. lib. ii. ver. 272.

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of athletic exercises, intermixed and relieved by music and dancing, resembled the tilts and tournaments in the ages of chivalry. Men of high rank only presumed to engage in them; a large concourse of people attended as spectators; and judges were appointed to determine the merit of the candidates, and distribute the prizes. They became a stated amusement in the courts of princes; but their most solemn celebration was at the funerals of illustrious men. The heroes of Homer entered the list in these martial amusements *, and all the magnificence and splendor of the age was displayed on the occasion. The funeral of Patroclus, described in the Iliad, may be considered as an example of what the poet could imagine most complete. The games, in which prizes were contended for on that occasion, were the chariot-race, the foot-race, boxing, wrestling, throwing the quoit and javelin, shooting with the bow, and fencing with the spear. In times when every thing was determined by the law of arms, when personal vigor and prowess decided in the day of war, and when a battle was only a multitude of single combats, such trials of strength and agility

* Odyss. lib. xxiv. ver. 87.

were conteſts of honour, and reflected luſtre on men of the higheſt rank. CHAP. XI.

ACCORDING to Homer *, Eleia, in Peloponneſus, had been, on various occaſions, the ſcene of athletic games, celebrated with uncommon pomp, and frequented by chiefs from different parts of Greece. But no periodical feſtival was eſtabliſhed ſimilar to that which afterward became ſo famous under the title of the Olympic Games. In the heroic times the games were only occaſional ſolemnities, and were diſtinguiſhed by characteriſtical differences from the Olympian †. In the former the prizes were intrinſically valuable, and the value often conſiderable: in the latter they were merely honorary; a crown or chaplet, formed of a branch of laurel or wild olive, was the ſole reward of the victor. After the age of Homer, in conſequence of the long calamities, extenſive migrations, and unceaſing hoſtilities, ariſing from the Dorian conqueſt, Greece ſeemed to have changed its character, and the memory of the antient games was nearly loſt. While the Peloponneſus was thus torn by civil diſſenſions and waſted by a peſti-

* Iliad, lib. xi. ver. 697. lib. ii. ver. 629.

† Strabo, lib. viii. p. 355.

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lence, Iphitus, a deſcendant of Oxylus, ſucceeded to the throne of Elis. Concerned at the calamities of his country, and anxious to find a remedy to the evils under which it laboured, this benevolent and active prince ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Delphi, to ſupplicate information from the deity of the place. The Pythoneſs returned for anſwer, "That the Olympic feſtival muſt be reſtored, the non-obſervance of which had drawn down the indignation of the god to whom it was dedicated, and of Hercules the hero by whom it was inſtituted; and that a general ceſſation of arms muſt be immediately proclaimed to all thoſe cities who were deſirous of partaking in the games." The other people of the Peloponneſus, jealous of the pre-eminence thus aſſumed by the Eleans, ſent a common deputation to Delphi, to enquire concerning the authenticity of the oracle. The prieſteſs of Apollo, ever diſpoſed to favour the views of kings and legiſlators, adhered to her former anſwer, and commanded them to ſubmit to the authority of the Eleans, in ordering and eſtabliſhing the antient laws and cuſtoms of their forefathers." The injunction of the oracle was ſpeedily diffuſed through the remoteſt parts of Greece, and Iphitus proceeded

ceeded to model his inſtitution. It was ordained that a feſtival ſhould be held near the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, and be repeated at the termination of every fourth year; that this feſtival ſhould conſiſt in ſolemn ſacrifices to Jupiter and Hercules, and in games dedicated to their honour; and that for ſome time before the commencement, and after the concluſion, of theſe ſacred ſhews, a general armiſtice ſhould take place through Greece. For his own people, the Eleans, Iphitus procured advantages of a ſingular nature. A tradition prevailed that the Heraclidæ conſecrated the whole territory to the god, and denounced the moſt dreadful curſes on all who ſhould invade or refuſe to defend it againſt its invaders. Through the influence of Iphitus and the oracle, the people acquieſced in this tradition. A character of ſacredneſs became attached to the whole Eleian people, as the hereditary prieſthood of Jupiter; and, in the moſt turbulent times of the Grecian republics, the territory of Elcia was defended by a wall of ſanctity.

IPHITUS deſerves to be ſtyled the founder, rather than the reſtorer, of the games; for he was the firſt that reduced the feſtival into a regular ſyſtem and form; united the ſacred

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and political inſtitutions; and, by the eſtabliſhment of the Olympiad, gave it that principle of life and duration which enabled it to ſurvive the laws, the liberties, and the political exiſtence of Greece *.

SUCH an inſtitution as the Olympiad muſt have been attended with the moſt beneficial effects to ſociety. By the general armiſtice which was eſtabliſhed, it ſuſpended the hoſtilities and ſoftened the animoſities of a barbarous age. Curioſity, religion, ambition, the love of fame, invited all deſcriptions of men to this public theatre. Greece aſſembled for the firſt time; and ſcattered tribes, unconnected with one another, gradually became one people. Aſſembled by the ſame religious rites, and partaking the ſame amuſements, their prejudices wore off, and their manners became refined: united by the ſame intereſts, they bent their efforts in one direction, and acted with the union and the force of nations. The principle of ſocial life being once kindled, continued to flame. Public ſpectacles became more and more frequent; the Iſthmian, the Pythian, and the Nemean games, were inſtituted in imitation of the Olympian; and all Greece was in

* Weſt, Diſſert. Olymp. Games.

movement

movement and action. To the distant communities and colonies of Grecian extraction, the Olympiad served as a common bond of alliance and point of re-union. This celebrated festival continually attracted characters the most distinguished for abilities and enterprize, and concentred the genius and fame of the neighbouring states as well as distant dominions of Greece. The sacred ties of hospitality were renewed and strengthened; alliances formed between communities; a sense of general interest and national honour perceived and promoted.

From this period the Greeks more particularly merit our attention, as from these early circumstances they assumed a character which they always preserved. Their curiosity was marked with all that keenness of vivacity which the novelty of ideas and the first fruits of knowledge always inspire. Their frequent opportunities of assembling together, and displaying their talents on a great theatre, produced an activity, an inquietude, the love of adventure, and the desire of distinction. The ignorance and credulity of the age; the awful and mysterious nature of the oracle; the heroic actions; the fables, and the prodigies, which they heard and believed; raised and

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nourished a passion for the marvellous. The names of those who instituted the Olympic games; the great men whose actions they recalled to view; the gods to whom they were consecrated; the kings and heroes who entered the lists; the crowns distributed to the conquerors amidst the applauses of their country; kindled that noble emulation and love of fame, which prepared Greece for great actions, and led to an era of glory. This early character descended through every period of their history. The same curiosity and passion for the marvellous attended them in their most enlightened age; their ardor and restlessness remained amid the most settled times of their republics; and the spirit of emulation still continued the chief spring of the Grecian character, which produced great men, perfected the fine arts, and introduced the sublime in action, speculation, and sentiment.

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Of the Government, Religion, Arts, and Manners, of the early GREEKS.

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THE form of government which prevailed among the Greeks in the heroic times, as among all barbarous tribes, was that of limited monarchies, or rather monarchal republics. This mode of political rule ſeems natural to mankind in the firſt ſtages of ſociety. Every nation in North America has a king, a ſenate, and an aſſembly of the people. The royal office is elective, but it is for life; the ſachems form the ordinary council of the chief, in which all national affairs are deliberated and determined in the firſt inſtance; but in the greateſt of all, which is declaring war, the king and ſachems call a national aſſembly, communicate their reſolution to the people, and ſacrifice an animal. Thoſe among the tribes who approve the war partake of the ſacrifice, throw the hatchet into a tree after the example of the king, and join

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join in the ſubſequent war-ſongs and dances. Thoſe who diſapprove take no part of the ſacrifice, but retire.

AMONG the antient Germans, as deſcribed by Tacitus, the ſame form of government was eſtabliſhed. Kings were choſen from the nobility, whoſe power was extenſive in war, but limited in peace; ordinary affairs were tranſacted in the council of the chiefs; on extraordinary occaſions there was an aſſembly of the whole people. It was the prerogative of the king to lead in war, and to enjoy pre-eminence in peace; but his authority depended on the concurrence of the inferior chieftains. On great occaſions, and when their paſſions were agitated, the people were accuſtomed to aſſemble in a body, and, without any concerted form of democracy, aſſumed the ſovereignty to themſelves.

THE Grecian ſtates, in like manner, during the heroic ages, were governed by kings or chiefs, whoſe power was limited by laws and eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, controuled by inferior chieftains, and directed by a popular aſſembly.

IN the kingdom of Phæacia, as deſcribed in the Odyſſey, we have a picture at full length of theſe mixed and limited governments.

ments. A king or archon, twelve peers honoured with the name of kings, and an aſſembly of the people, ſhared and divided the ſupreme authority. "There are twelve chiefs," ſays Alcinous, "who rule over the people, and I am the thirteenth *." He is accordingly obliged to call a council of his nobles before he can venture to furniſh Ulyſſes with a ſingle ſhip to tranſport him to his native country.

We find in Homer the aſſembly of the people as well as the council of the nobles or peers. The AGORA, or place of meeting, and haranguing in public aſſemblies, are often mentioned: to excel in eloquence was an object of ambition, and eſteemed one of the higheſt qualities and ornaments of a chief. But the power of the people, though exerted with enthuſiaſm on extraordinary occaſions, was far from being a legal or conſtitutional check. The ſtruggle lay between the king and nobles; and the laſt finally prevailed, as they muſt ever do againſt a king who is not ſupported by an adequate popular power. Phæacia was rather a confederacy of thirteen little princely domains than one great king-

* Odyſſ. lib. viii. ver. 390.

dom.

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dom. Each archon was a king in his own ſtate or diſtrict, and, in caſe of a foreign war, commanded his own diviſion in the general camp. The firſt archon or ruler of the confederacy, though originally raiſed to the throne by the voice of the people*, claimed the regal office to be hereditary in his family. The other chiefs were frequently diſpoſed to diſpute the hereditary ſucceſſion, and to make the ſceptre elective. Ulyſſes, ſaved from ſhipwreck on the iſle of Phæacia, thus addreſſes himſelf to the queen of Alcinous: "May the gods grant you to live in peace, and to tranſmit to your children whatever rewards or honours the people hath given you." Though the ſucceſſion was in general hereditary, it was ſometimes ſet aſide in favour of another branch of the royal line, or one of the nobles who had more power than the heir apparent.

THE chief and unqueſtioned prerogatives of the kings were, to command the armies in the time of war, to decide private quarrels in peace, and to preſide over the worſhip of the gods. In many reſpects the political ſtate of the early Greeks reſembled that of the antient Germans; but while among the latter a parti-

* Ariſtot. Polit. lib. iii. cap. 14. Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 9.

cular

cular order of men ſuperintended the ceremonies of religion, and exerciſed a power equal, and ſometimes ſuperior, to the regal, among the former the offices of king and prieſt were veſted in the ſame perſon. The kings, in Homer, generally deſcended from Jupiter, always exerciſe the pontifical functions, preſide over the ſacrifices, and are ſolicitous to eſtabliſh their power upon divine authority. Hence the veneration of the people for the title and office of kings was augmented, as they believed that they held their ſovereignty by the appointment of Jove. CHAP. XII.

Religion.

PLATO informs us, that the ſun, moon, ſtars, and earth, had been the earlieſt objects of Grecian worſhip, as they were of the barbarous nations in his time. This appears indeed to have been the natural and original ſuperſtition of all nations in the unenlightened periods of their hiſtory. This rude and ſimple theology of the Greeks ſoon received large augmentation from the Egyptians, the chief inventors of religious ceremonies; from the Thracians, to whom they were indebted for the name of religion *; and from the Pelaſgian and Phœnician colonies which ſettled

* Θρησκεια.

among

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among them. Twelve principal divinities preſided over the powers of nature, and the greater departments of the univerſe *. All of theſe, except Juno and Veſta, were adopted from the Egyptian theology †. Polytheiſm, thus introduced, ſoon increaſed to an amazing degree. The greater and more powerful divinities are chiefly deſcribed by Homer; but Heſiod, in his Theogony, makes the whole number amount to thirty thouſand.

THE Grecian ſuperſtition, though partly introduced from abroad, received additions and improvements from the phyſical influence of the climate and ſoil, and the elegant imagination of the inhabitants. Whatever dazzled or delighted their fancy announced to the Greeks the preſence of a divinity. Hence they peopled nature with new inhabitants, who, though generally inviſible, ſometimes appeared to their favoured votaries. Oreads reſided in the mountain, Dryads in the wood, Naiads in the ſpring; the ſea poſſeſſed its Tritons and its Nereids, and every river its watery god: the variety of the ſeaſons produced the Hours; the Muſes

* Juno, Veſta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars, Mercurius, Jovi, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.—Ennius.

† Herodot. lib. ii. p. 123.

and

and the Graces ſprung from the elegant genius and fine taſte of the people. CHAP. XII.

RELIGIOUS duties among the Greeks conſiſted in ſacrifices and luſtrations, prayers and ſongs of praiſe. That due honour was paid them by offering victims on their altars, is the reaſon aſſigned in the Iliad for the affection of the ſeveral divinities for particular nations or individuals. The anger of the gods is frequently denounced againſt the guilty, and the protection of heaven promiſed to the innocent and the juſt. But we often find the gods prompting the moſt atrocious and criminal enterprizes: it was believed that they could be ſoothed by flattery, and bribed by preſents or ſacrifices; and their approbation was inferred not from the merit, but from the ſucceſs of an action. Pure morality, like pure religion, is not the offſpring of a barbarous age.

AN apprehenſion of inviſible but powerful agents in nature, the arbiters of human life, and diſpoſers of happineſs or miſery, diſtinguiſhes mankind in every period of ſociety, and ſtrongly marks the character of ſavage and barbarous tribes as well as of civilized nations. But among all the people, with whoſe hiſtory we are acquainted, the opinions

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which they entertained concerning religion and a future ſtate were in proportion to the progreſs they had made in knowledge, refinement, and virtue. The conception of divine attributes is drawn from the ideas of human excellence; heaven is the picture of the earth, and God the image of man. Homer's deities are human beings on a larger ſcale, with the ſame paſſions, propenſities, and vices. Jupiter, the chief of the celeſtial regents, was limited in knowledge, deficient in goodneſs, and bounded in power. He was under the ſtrict controul of the Fates; and the inferior gods and goddeſſes, who were commonly diſpoſed to diſturb his adminiſtration, paid him reverence only on account of his ſuperior ſtrength *.

The immortality of the ſoul, of which an original and univerſal perception or ſentiment ſeems to be impreſſed by the hand of Nature on the human mind, formed alſo an article in the creed of the early Greeks. But the enjoyments as well as improvements of ſuch a ſtate, which at all times ſurpaſs the faculties of men to conceive, were but imperfectly comprehended by tribes juſt emerging from barbarity. The Hades of Homer is dark and

* Iliad, viii. ver. 210.

melancholy:

melancholy: the ſituation of the departed ſhades is dreary; and heroes, the moſt celebrated for their virtues or valour, are ſullen and dejected. The idea of rewards and puniſhments is hinted; but the remarkable expreſſion of Achilles, "that he would rather be a day-labourer on earth, than king over all the ſhades in the lower regions," preſents a gloomy and uncomfortable view of the Grecian Elyſium. CHAP. XII.

Arts.

THE hiſtory of the Egyptians, and the nations of Aſia, ſeldom inſtructs us in the progreſs of the arts. From the want of monuments and hiſtorical details, we cannot trace the proceſs of diſcoveries, nor the progreſs of the human mind in inventions and improvements. But the Grecian annals, independent of the ſtriking and ſplendid events which they contain, convey to us the hiſtory of the arts, and the gradations of refinement. From the period in which they began to emerge from ſavage ferocity to their moſt advanced ſtages of civilization, we can trace the ſteps and follow the progreſs of the human genius in all that improves and adorns life, and renders it convenient or delightful.

FROM an early intercourſe with nations more civilized and refined than themſelves,

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the Greeks are not entitled to the praiſe of invention in moſt of the arts. They had received the glimmerings of ſcience and the rudiments of art from Egypt and Phœnicia. But the point of perfection to which they carried the diſcoveries imparted to them by other nations, the elegance and beauty of which they ſet the examples in all the works of taſte, amply compenſate for the merit of the invention. Their progreſs in policy and improvement, indeed, was ſlow. While at an early era after the flood we find pomp and magnificence prevail in Egypt and in Aſia, the Greeks were roaming ſavages or wandering ſhepherds; and we can now only mark the origin of thoſe arts which, in a ſubſequent part of their hiſtory, attained to perfection.

Agriculture.

When military honours and rewards are chiefly coveted, and from the imperfection of civil government property is inſecure, great advances cannot be made in the arts that contribute to convenience and luxury. As the early Greeks were a paſtoral people, their wealth conſiſted chiefly in their flocks and herds, and agriculture being only a ſecondary mean of ſubſiſtence, was in an imperfect ſtate. The implements of huſbandry were rude, and, from the ſcarcity of iron, the plough

plough was made of wood. Barley was the first grain cultivated in Greece, and furnished the ordinary food both of men and of horses. As a memorial of their antient life, the Athenians, in subsequent ages, used cakes of barley in their sacrifices. At first they ate their grain as it came from the husk, half-roasted; but in the time of Homer it was bruised between two large stones with the hand, and formed into bread. The art of meliorating and fertilizing the ground by means of manure was known in the heroic ages. The culture of the vine, which is ascribed to Bacchus, was early understood, and the climate and soil of Greece were favourable to the grape. It was their chief article of luxury, and sometimes kept to a great age *. The olive was a native of Greece; but the benefit to be derived from its fruit, in cheering the melancholy gloom of night, was unknown to the Greeks †. The art of making oil was discovered, but the use of lamps was unknown, and they were lighted by fires of wood in their apartments. Figs, pears, apples, and pomegranates, are the only fruits that Homer describes in the garden of Alcinous.

* Odyss. lib. iii. ver. 390.

† Goguet, Orig. of Arts, vol. ii. p. 192.

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Architecture.

ARCHITECTURE, which at a ſubſequent period produced models of elegance and taſte for ſucceeding ages to ſtudy and to imitate, aroſe from inconſiderable beginnings. The houſes of the Greeks were ſimple cabins, conſtructed, in an artleſs manner, of earth and clay. In the time of Vitruvius, the remains of a building were ſtill viſible, in which the Areopagites aſſembled in the commencement of their inſtitution. It was a mean edifice, and was covered with ſods. But the houſes of the opulent were built of poliſhed ſtone, and conſiſted of two floors, the lower of which was diſtributed into four apartments. The labyrinth at Crete, and other amazing ſtructures, attributed to Dædalus, are fictions of the later poets, of which the ſilence of Homer and Herodotus is a ſufficient proof.

Art of working metals.

PROMETHEUS, who was cotemporary with the Titans, is ſaid to have taught the Greeks the art of working in metals *. Among the Greeks, as among all the nations of antiquity, copper was one of the firſt metals brought into uſe, and ſupplied the place of iron before the latter was invented. At the time of the Trojan war, not only arms, but the in-

* Æſchyl. in Prometh. vinct. ver. 501.

ſtruments

ſtruments of the mechanic arts, were made of copper. Iron was held in ſuch eſtimation, that in the games which Achilles celebrated in honour of Patroclus, he propoſed a ball of that metal as a conſiderable prize *.

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ORNAMENTAL works in gold, ſilver, and ivory, are frequently mentioned by Homer, but theſe appear to have been imported from Egypt or Phœnicia. We find in the Odyſſey, a Phœnician merchant offering to ſale a golden necklace ſet with amber †. A ſilver bowl is deſcribed in the Iliad as ſurpaſſing all productions of a ſimilar kind, for, ſays the poet, "Sidonian artiſts made it, and Phœnicians brought it over the ſea ‡."

COMMERCE, in the heroic ages, appears to have been chiefly carried on by Phœnician merchants. Trade was not eſteemed an honourable profeſſion, and a pirate was more reſpected than a merchant. The Greeks, however, were not without traffic both by ſea and land. They had advanced beyond the rude ideas of barter or exchange, and had diſcovered a common meaſure of commodities. The inſtrument of commerce, which we call money, has been different in different countries. Salt

Commerce.

* Iliad, xxiii. ver. 118. † Lib. xv. ver. 458.
‡ Lib. xxiii. ver. 744.

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in Abyſſinia; ſhells in ſome parts on the coaſt of India; tobacco in Virginia; ſugar in the Weſt India iſlands, have been employed for this purpoſe. As the Greeks were a paſtoral people, cattle became the inſtrument of exchange. The golden armour of Glaucus, according to Homer, was worth a hundred oxen; the brazen armour of Diomede worth nine: at the funeral games on the death of Patroclus, a tripod was valued at twelve oxen, a female ſlave at four.

Military art.

WAR was by way of eminence the art in which the Greeks ſought to excel during the heroic ages. Martial achievements were held the only ſplendid actions, and ſome circumſtances in Greece favoured the improvement of the military art. Divided into ſmall ſtates, in the neighbourhood of each other, always in a ſtate of open war or ſuſpicious peace, attention to the art of war became indiſpenſably neceſſary both to the individual and the community. Accordingly we find that the Greeks, in the heroic times, had improved on that tumultuary warfare alone known to many barbarous nations. Subordination and ſteadineſs in the ſoldier, which diſtinguiſh an army from a mob, prevailed among the Grecian troops. Their defenſive armour conſiſted of a helmet, adorned

adorned with plumes, which covered the head, a corſlet which defended the breaſt, greaves of braſs that deſcended to the feet, and an ample ſhield that turned in all directions to oppoſe every hoſtile aſſault. Their principal weapon was the javelin, which they threw with amazing and almoſt incredible force. When they miſſed their aim, they drew their ſwords, and ruſhed impetuouſly on the foe. Bows, ſlings, and darts, were chiefly employed by warriors of inferior reputation. War-chariots ſupplied the want of cavalry. We find no chief without his car, drawn generally by two, ſometimes by three horſes, and theſe make a principal figure in the battles of Homer. Though the art of forming an army in phalanx was commonly practiſed, yet the office of a general in directing its operations was loſt in the paſſion of the great men to ſignalize themſelves by acts of perſonal proweſs and ſkill in arms. Achilles and Hector, the firſt heroes of the Iliad, excel not in the capacity of generals, but of fighting ſoldiers. When a battle conſiſted of a multitude of ſingle combats, the office of a general was to exhort the troops to action, and to lead the way, rather than to command them.

Sciences.

THE ſpeculative ſciences are neither the oc-

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cupation nor amuſement of a barbarous age. A few ſimple calculations of arithmetic, and ſuch a knowledge of the heavenly bodies as was neceſſary to direct the courſe of the mariner, and determine the operations of huſbandry, ſummed up the ſcience of the early Greeks. The revolutions of the moon have been firſt employed by all nations to aſcertain the length of the year: but twelve lunar periods being unequal to the annual revolution of the ſun, the ſtars were ſoon found to be more accurate aſtronomical guides. Heſiod, accordingly, marks the ſeaſons for the labours of agriculture by the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars, which in his age were grouped in conſtellations, nearly in the ſame manner as at preſent. Ignorance of aſtronomy is mentioned by Æſchylus, as a mark of the deepeſt barbariſm, and the obſervation of the ſtars as the firſt thing neceſſary to civilized life *.

Manners.

THE manners of the early Greeks, ſimilar to thoſe of our German anceſtors, as deſcribed by Tacitus, were ſuch as naturally aroſe from a defective government and an uncultivated ſtate of ſociety. Military expeditions, by land for plunder or glory, and piracy at ſea, were

* Prometh. vinct. p. 31.

common,

common, and reckoned honourable. When a people have arms always in their hands, and eſteem valour the chief virtue, little horror is annexed to the ſhedding of blood. Many of the heroes in the Iliad had been guilty of this crime, and fled their country, to avoid the puniſhment which they expected from the relations of the deceaſed. When every man is judge in his own cauſe, and private revenge is exerciſed by the individual, not transferred to the community, ſociety muſt exhibit a ſcene of bloodſhed and treachery.

HUMANITY and compaſſion are not the virtues of barbarous nations; and the heroes of Homer ſeldom gave quarter to a vanquiſhed foe. "Why ſo tender-hearted?" ſaid Agamenon to Menelaus, ſeeing him heſitate while a Trojan of high rank was begging his life. "Let none of the Trojans eſcape deſtruction from our hands, not the child within his mother's womb." The poet gives his own approbation to this barbarous ſpeech: "It was juſtly ſpoken," ſays Homer, "and he turned his brother's mind."

HOSPITALITY to ſtrangers is the virtue of a people in this ſtate of ſociety. "The gueſt and the ſuppliant," ſays Homer, "ſhould be conſidered as near relations; the ſtranger and

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and the poor are from Jove." The character of Axylas in the Iliad forms a perfect example of patriarchal ſimplicity, goodneſs, and hoſpitality. The ſocial affections too, and private friendſhip, as they acted in a narrow ſphere, were powerful and boundleſs in their operations. Achilles ruſhes to certain death to revenge the cauſe of his friend, yet refuſes to the prayers of an aged parent the melancholy conſolation of interring the remains of his favourite ſon, till the correſponding image of his own father ſtrikes his mind, and at once melts him to pity *.

THE union of the higheſt dignities with employments now reckoned mean, is characteriſtic of uncultivated nations. The handicraft arts were exerciſed by princes. Ulyſſes made his own bridal bed, and adorned it with gold. Women of the higheſt rank drew water from the well. The princeſs Nauſicaa waſhed the family clothes, and the princes her brothers, on her return from the river, unyoked the car, and carried in the clothes. But the female ſex, though chiefly occupied with domeſtic employments, particularly ſpinning, weaving, and needlework, enjoyed more free-

* Iliad, xxiv. Dr. Gillies, Hiſt. Greece, p. 64.

dom,

dom, and mingled more in ſociety, than has been known in theſe countries in ſubſequent ages. In the dialogues between Hector and Andromache we have an inimitable picture of conjugal tenderneſs, and in the character of Penelope a model of female virtue.

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Ante Ch. 1104.

THE revolution occaſioned by the return of the Heraclidæ, which operated a change in the affairs of Greece, and gave new inhabitants to Peloponneſus, was followed by an internal revolution of every ſtate within itſelf. The governments of Greece in the firſt ages, though of no very regular and defined conſtitution, were all limited monarchies. No other form of government is mentioned by Homer, or was known in his times. When the Heraclidæ took poſſeſſion of their new dominions, they eſtabliſhed every where that hereditary limited monarchy which was adapted to the ideas and temper of the age. The power and authority acquired by the monarchs of Argos before the Trojan war, was diminiſhed by the extenſive calamities which followed that expedition; and the equality eſtabliſhed among the princes deſcended from Hercules gave an oppoſite bias to Grecian politics and government. Thoſe vigorous principles of democracy, ſo congenial to the Grecian governments,

ments, began to ferment. The prerogatives of royalty, chiefly conſpicuous in war, could not be ſupported in peace, without an extenſive revenue or the excluſive right of the ſword. Men who had been accuſtomed to ſhare the councils of their ſovereign, and to come armed to the public aſſembly, were not likely to ſubmit to the tyranny of princes whom they or their fathers had raiſed to power. Argos was among the firſt ſtates in Greece that aboliſhed arbitrary rule. Miltas, the fourth prince in ſucceſſion to Temenus, was condemned to death for uſurping abſolute power. The death of the ſelf-devoted Codrus reſtored liberty to Athens, which had been always tending to a democratic conſtitution. The example was followed by other ſtates. Conſpiring againſt their tyrants, the cities erected themſelves into republics; the name of king grew odious; and popular governments were every where eſtabliſhed. From this period the love of liberty became the prevailing paſſion of the Greeks; hatred to tyrants was a bond of union; and ſometimes a people roſe in arms to break the chains of a neighbouring nation. In this manner the republic of Achaia commenced, which was formed of ſeveral confederated cities, each governed by their own magiſtrates and

Ante Ch. 1070.

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and laws. Corinth, though early abounding in wealth and luxury, was the laſt city of Greece that aſſumed a republican form: monarchy was then aboliſhed in every province within the Grecian territories, from the ſouthern extremity of Peloponneſus to the northern frontier of Theſſaly *. The firſt emigrations, alſo, to foreign countries, made during the period when kingly government became odious, carried along with them the love of liberty, and eſtabliſhed popular governments in the new ſettlements.

AFTER theſe convulſions had ſpent their force, Greece began to gather ſtrength and advance in population. The territory not ſufficing the inhabitants, a ready reſource offered to the various ſtates of extending their dominions, and at the ſame time preſerving their force, by forming colonies. To this they were invited by the flouriſhing ſtate of the people, who, on former occaſions, had emigrated from their country. Various cauſes contributed to the coloniſing ſpirit of the Greeks.

WHEN wandering tribes begin to ſettle, they change not their character, nor fix their condition, all at once. The ſpirit of the for-

* Thucyd. lib. i. Ariſt. Polit. lib. iv. cap. 13.

mer

mer period paſſes into the following; the reſtleſs and roaming ſtate ſtill continues; the inhabitants are feebly attached to the cantons which they occupy; agriculture and the arts increaſe ſlowly. As all abodes are in ſome meaſure alike, they are ready, on every occaſion, to leave their ſeats and ſeek new habitations. Hence the times of barbarity were of long continuance; various emigrations took place; and Greece continually poured itſelf into the adjacent countries. In a narrow and uncultivated region, containing a number of independent tribes, ſtraitened for territory and ſubſiſtence, other cauſes would induce the inhabitants to emigrate. As no proviſion was made for the natural increaſe of population, a warlike nation, little acquainted with agriculture, and leſs with manufactures, had no other method of diſcharging their ſuperfluous numbers, but by forming a colony.

ANOTHER fertile ſource of the coloniſation of Greece was that ſpirit of faction which poſſeſſes all republics. When ſtates were burdened with ſubjects, from whoſe ambition or idleneſs they dreaded innovation, they projected a colony to relieve them from their apprehenſions. When a factious demagogue became formidable to the conſtitution of his

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country, he was ſent, at the head of his followers, to ſome diſtant region, over which he might preſide.

But the object of Grecian coloniſation was not only to diſcharge the ſupernumerary members, and preſerve the conſtitution of the parent ſtate, but alſo to form eſtabliſhments which might prove advantageous. Hence it became a principal object of policy. With this view they determined the reſpective rights of the metropolis and its colonies; eſtabliſhed by law what they owed to one another; and to render the preliminaries more ſacred, accompanied them with ſacrifices and religious ceremonies. The mother country furniſhed the colonies with arms, and every thing neceſſary for their eſtabliſhment; gave them generals and magiſtrates; and engaged to continue their protection. Such favours conſtitute rights. In conſequence of theſe the colonies came under the obligation to aſſiſt the metropolis with their forces, to open their ports to their fleets, and break all other alliances in their behalf.

The foreign countries in which the Greeks planted their principal colonies were the ſouth-eaſt coaſt of Italy, extending from Brundiſium to the frith of Sicily, from the frith to the

the promontory of Pachynum, and a great part of the coaſt of the Leſſer Aſia, lying along the eaſtern ſhore of the Archipelago. They had beſides many ſettlements on the ſhores of Thrace, in the iſlands of the Ionian ſea, on the borders of the Euxine, and as far as the coaſt of Africa.

THESE colonies remained attached to the mother country, while they felt the want of protection: but the utility derived from colonies can only be temporary. Theſe new republics, when once eſtabliſhed, have intereſts conformable to their ſituation, and of conſequence ſoon forget their connection with the mother country: nothing but a common intereſt can long unite in the bonds of amity ſeparate and divided ſtates.

FROM theſe events two remarkable effects followed. The idea of extending their dominions by conquering their neighbours, never preſented itſelf to the cities of Greece. As all of them were equal, or nearly in a ſtate of equality, none were ſufficiently ambitious to attempt ſuch an enterprize. The ſoil oppoſed obſtacles to conqueſt; the mountains roſe as boundaries between one ſtate and another; and if theſe natural barriers were broke through,

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it would be difficult to make ſolid and permanent eſtabliſhments. The plan of coloniſing being introduced, continued to increaſe, as the different ſtates found their power augmented in proportion to the number of their colonies. They placed their glory in giving birth to new cities; to coloniſe became an object of ambition; and this ſpirit removed the idea of ſubjecting the neighbouring people to their arms. Hence the Grecian ſtates preſent us with the ſingular ſpectacle of nations ſhut up within their own boundaries, without even the deſire of increaſing their territories, or extending their domains.

FROM this era begins that variety and oppoſition of character, which ever afterward prevailed among the different people comprehended under the general name of Greeks. Previous to this period, in the barbarous ſtate of Greece, a remarkable reſemblance appeared among all the Hellenic tribes. About this time the different republics completed their forms of government; and, in conſequence of this event, their primitive mode of thinking and acting changed. Every ſtate opened its eyes to its own intereſts, and formed laws and maxims relative to its poſition and particular

views. A general attention was rouſed to the great objects of government; and from this period the republics of Greece engaged in action, and, ſharpened by rivalſhip, become more worthy of our contemplation. CHAP. XIII.

THE government of all the Grecian ſtates was originally monarchical. The unſucceſsful attempts of the princes of the line of Hercules to extend their power, awakened the jealouſy of the people, and ſtrengthened their natural bias to republican government. About the ſame time the ſpirit of liberty pervaded all the communities of Greece. Hence the early monarchies were of ſhort duration. Kings as well as uſurpers were branded with the odious name of Tyrants. Revolutions ſometimes took place from democracy to monarchy; but theſe were temporary and tranſient. The people, when left to the free operation of their natural ſentiments, returned with keenneſs and tumult to the antient conſtitution.

THE hiſtory of all the Grecian republics is not equally intereſting to modern times. Sparta and Athens diſtinguiſhed themſelves above the reſt as the leading commonwealths of Greece. Theſe were the great ſprings of the political machine; and by the aſcendant

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which alternately they acquired, they directed the motions and decided the deſtiny of this extraordinary people.

THE Spartan government hath always appeared a paradox in the political world. The diviſion of power, the ſtate of manners, the cuſtoms, the laws, and the mode of life, are ſo ſingular and extraordinary, that ſome authors have doubted the exiſtence, and all expreſſed their admiration of this political phenomenon. But from the reſearches that we have made, and the facts that we inveſtigated, the conſtitution of Sparta will appear, like every other conſtitution, the reſult of a ſituation, and the production of the times.

THE change of monarchy to popular government, and the tendency to form colonies, at the period which we are now contemplating, gave riſe to the ſtudy of legiſlation. This fermentation in the human mind opened a new career to ambition and to wiſdom. Morals and politics became the ſtudy of the nobleſt ſpirits; the change of ſituation induced the people to demand laws; and ſimple citizens began to exerciſe an authority which they owed to their talents and their virtues.

No

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No legiſlator, however, enacts the laws, or forms the manners of a people, according to his own mind. The genius of the times is always too ſtrong for the ſpirit of the law-giver. Men are ever the ſame; tenacious of their rights, and jealous of their independence. If, when authority is beſt eſtabliſhed, a monarch cannot model a ſyſtem of government for his ſubjects according to his own fancy, nor even paſs a ſingle law contrary to the conſent of the people, the chief of an inferior tribe, clad in the ſame garb, and covered with the ſame ſhed as his fellow-citizens, could never enjoy the exerciſe of that power. A Lycurgus might appear, but who could create a people? What has aſtoniſhed hiſtorians and philoſophers, the ſtate of manners to which the Spartan government refers, is more rude and barbarous than what Homer attributes to that nation in a former age. Various and ingenious reaſons have been aſſigned to account for this appearance. The hiſtorical facts that we have formerly mentioned, explain the origin and the formation of this celebrated republic.

THE army of the Heraclidæ, when they came to recover the dominion of their anceſtors, was compoſed of Dorians from Theſſaly,

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who roamed the ſavage wilds of Oeta, Parnaſſus, and Pindus, the braveſt, but at the ſame time the moſt barbarous of all the Greek tribes. The Acheans, the antient inhabitants of Laconia, were compelled to ſeek new habitations, while the barbarians of Theſſaly took poſſeſſion of their country. Of all the nations which are the ſubject of hiſtorical record, this people bore the neareſt reſemblance to the rude American tribes; and this furniſhes the key to the Lacedemonian government.

ARISTODEMUS, one of the deſcendants of Hercules, periſhed in the war which the Heraclidæ carried on to recover the dominions of their anceſtors, and left two ſons, who being twins, and ſo exactly ſimilar, that it was difficult to diſtinguiſh the one from the other, ſucceeded jointly to the kingdom of Laconia, which fell by lot to their father. Hence the divided royalty, and the two kings at Sparta.

SUCH a form of government is little calculated to be laſting, to give ſtability to the reigning power, or enſure tranquillity to the people. Jealouſy, as might be expected, aroſe between the princes: hence it became neceſſary for each to court the favour of the inferior chiefs and the people. While in other Grecian ſtates the tyranny of one king drove the

the multitude to aſſume the ſupreme power to themſelves, or divide it with their leaders, in Lacedemon the conceſſions of two kings gave, by degrees, ſuch importance to the people, that the royal authority no longer remained an object of terror or envy. The kings were inveſted with great authority in war, in the quality of generals; they were hereditary ſenators, and the high prieſts of the nation *.

THE legiſlative authority was in a great meaſure veſted in the ſenate, which conſiſted of twenty-eight members, choſen at the age of ſixty. The kings were the hereditary preſidents of this national council. The natural aſcendant of the "elders," among a barbarous people, evidently ſuggeſted the idea of this inſtitution.

THE ſeeming ſovereignty reſided in the people, as in their aſſemblies the election of ſenators was made, and the laſt reſolutions were taken. They approved or rejected the decrees of the ſenate. Such was the conſtitution of Sparta. The kings propoſed the buſineſs in the public aſſemblies; the ſenate deliberated and reſolved; the people aſſented or refuſed. An American tribe, where a chief

* Ariſtot. Polit. lib. iii. cap. 14.

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preſides, where the council of the aged deliberate, and the aſſembly of the people gives their voice, is on the eve of ſuch a conſtitution.

As the ſenate conſiſted of the antient nobility; as in council they poſſeſſed a negative before debate; as the members were choſen for life; and as, on the deceaſe of any ſenator, his ſon or neareſt kinſman was commonly ſubſtituted in his ſtead, they ſoon began to encroach on the other powers in the government, and to arrogate to themſelves the whole legiſlative as well as executive authority. To counteract this dangerous tendency, and to curb the power of the ſenate, five annual magiſtrates, under the name of the Ephori, inveſted with power to inſpect and controul the adminiſtration of government, were appointed in the reign of Theopompus, a hundred and thirty years after the death of the Spartan lawgiver *. Theſe magiſtrates were choſen by the popular aſſembly out of their own number, and bore a great reſemblance to the tribunes of the people among the Romans. Their power was great, and almoſt unlimited. To the ephori it belonged to convoke, prorogue, and diſſolve the

* Ariſtot. Polit. lib. ii. cap. 5.

greater

greater and leſſer aſſemblies of the people; the former compoſed of nine thouſand Spartans, inhabitants of the capital; the latter of thirty thouſand Lacedemonians, inhabitants of the inferior towns and villages. They could oblige the magiſtrates, and even the monarchs, to give an account of their adminiſtration. They could arreſt and impriſon the perſons both of the ſenators and the kings. Every month the kings and the ephori exchanged ſolemn oaths; the former ſwearing for themſelves to obſerve the laws of Sparta; the latter, for the people whom they repreſented, to maintain the hereditary honours of the royal race, to reſpect them as miniſters of religion, and to follow them as leaders in war.

VALOUR is the virtue of a people in this ſtate. Accordingly the martial ſpirit of the Spartans was high and reſpectable; and the ſcience of war was their chief ſtudy. Abandoning the culture of the land to ſlaves, Sparta was a camp where the citizens exerciſed the trade of arms, and trained up ſoldiers for their country.

PEOPLE in this deſcription too are diſtinguiſhed by the love of their country. Affection to the tribe is ſtrong among ſavages. A ſmall community reſembles a cluſter of friends; and,

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and, ſurrounded by common enemies, their attachment to one another has the force of party ſpirit. Hence when the Dorians ſettled in Laconia, patriotiſm became their paſſion, private affections were abſorbed in the public, and nature itſelf gave way to Sparta.

THE obſervance of the laws, which diſtinguiſhed this people, was not a compliance with the orders of individuals, but a reſpect for eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, and a regard for their country. At Sparta the manners governed.

THE Dorians, when they followed the ſtandard of the Heraclidæ, agreed to the following conditions: that the royalty ſhould remain with the deſcendants of Hercules; but that the lands ſhould be divided among all thoſe who drew the ſword. Hence the territory of Laconia was given to the Dorians, and parcelled out into thirty-nine thouſand ſhares. Thirty thouſand were aſſigned for the inhabitants of the country, nine thouſand allotted to the inhabitants of the city. Each ſhare contained as much ground as was judged ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of a family, and produced eighty two medimni or buſhels of grain, with a proportional meaſure of fruits, wine, and oil. The kings, as in the heroic times, enjoyed their ſeparate domains, conferred by the voluntary

voluntary gratitude of their ſubjects. The ſenators, contented with an increaſe of power and honour, neither obtained nor deſired any pre-eminence of fortune.

GOLD and ſilver at that time were unknown in Greece. Iron money was current: hence the uſe of it was eſtabliſhed at Sparta. The utility and ſcarcity of iron, rendered it, in early times, a very ordinary and convenient meaſure of exchange. As ſuch it was frequently employed in the heroic times, as ſuch it continued long in Byzantium and other Grecian cities *. There is reaſon, however, to believe, that the uſe of iron money, which continued permanent in Sparta alone, after the vices that accompany wealth and luxury had corrupted the reſt of Greece, neceſſarily repelled from the republic of Lycurgus the votaries of pleaſure, the ſlaves of gain, and all the gaudy retinue of vanity and folly.

THE public tables eſtabliſhed at Sparta, at which the citizens ate promiſcuouſly of the ſame diet, remount to the heroic ages, and formed a part of the Cretan inſtitutions. Every table contained fifteen perſons, each of whom furniſhed a certain quantity of requi-

* Ariſtoph. Nub. Plut. in Lyſand.

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site provisions. A bushel of flour, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, together with a sum of money to purchase a small portion of flesh and fish, was the monthly contribution of every member. From their entertainments all delicate and luxurious dishes were banished; their most esteemed fare being a sort of black broth.

AT that time arts were in their rudest state: hence the simplicity of the Spartans in their equipage, buildings, and furniture. They knew no mechanic tools but the axe and the saw.

THE use of letters was not as yet introduced or become frequent: hence the laws of Lycurgus were not committed to writing.

THE masculine manners and robust exercises of the Spartan women, the severity and rigour displayed in the education of the young, the reverence for the aged, the aversion to industry and arts, the taciturnity, the laconic eloquence, we find among the tribes that wander in the woods, and live in the state of nature.

Lycurgus gave laws to the Spartans. Ante Ch. 884.

THUS Lycurgus, like every other legislator, formed his system of government from the state of society, established antient usages into laws,

laws, and gave a direction to the current of the times.

THE perpetuity of manners is not the leaſt ſingular part in the hiſtory of this republic. A violence was committed upon nature, which ordains a progreſs to nations as well as to individuals. The people were arreſted in the firſt ſtage of improvement. A bold hand was put forth to that ſpring which is in ſociety, and ſtopt its motion.

FROM this account it appears that the genius of the Spartans was altogether martial. War was their chief ſtudy, the object of their education, their employment, and their pleaſure. Courage, the firſt quality of a ſoldier, was enlivened by honour and ſhame, by praiſe and reproach, and every powerful principle that can operate on the mind. In the knowledge and practice of war they excelled the Greeks as well as the Barbarians. Their firſt leſſon in this art was, "never to fly from their enemies, however numerous or powerful, and on all occaſions to conquer or to die." Thoſe who fled in an engagement were rendered infamous for ever, and might be inſulted by any perſon with impunity. War, inſtead of a hardſhip, was conſidered by the Spartans as a relaxation; the city was the ſcene of labour,

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ſtudy, temperance, and ſevere diſcipline; the camp that of indulgence and luxury. In the day of battle they aſſumed an unuſual gaiety of aſpect, and diſplayed an unwonted ſplendor in their dreſs and ornaments. Their long hair was adorned with ſimple elegance; their ſcarlet uniforms and brazen armour diffuſed a luſtre around them. As they approached the enemy, the king offered ſacrifices to the gods; the muſic ſtruck up, and the ſoldiers advanced with a cheerful countenance and a ſteady pace, to what they were taught to regard as the nobleſt employment of man. In military enthuſiaſm the female ſex vied with the men. The matron delivered the ſhield to the huſband and the ſon, with this parting injunction, "Bring it back as a trophy of victory, or be brought upon it as your bier." The mother who heard that her ſon had fallen in battle, carefully examined the body, to ſee whether he had received his wounds before or behind: in the firſt caſe ſhe rejoiced; in the latter ſhe wept. The extraordinary valour of the Spartans gained them a name among nations. They were diſtinguiſhed from the other Greeks at the Olympic games. Neighbouring people applied for generals to this nurſery of heroes. They held the balance between the contending

ſtates,

ſtates, and were at the head of the Grecian affairs for five hundred years. After the inſtitutions of Lycurgus had ſhared the fate of all human things, the Lacedemonians ran the career of other nations: the warlike ſpirit however ſtill prevailed; and Sparta was the laſt city in Greece which became a village in the Roman empire.

But when we contemplate their valour and their patriotiſm, we view them on their moſt favourable ſide. A people poſſeſſing ſovereignty are haughty, arrogant, imperious; and when they have an advantage over others, are diſpoſed to treat them like ſlaves. Suſtaining no character but that of ſoldiers, they know only the law of arms: the utility of the republic becomes their ſole rule; and hence hiſtory will repreſent them as cruel, perfidious, and ſacrificing every thing to their intereſt or ambition.

The ſeverity with which they treated their ſlaves; the *ambuſcade*, as it is called, or their training the youth to murder in ſecret the unfortunate Helots; fill us with aſtoniſhment and horror.

A free intercourſe among the ſexes, in the rude ſtate of ſociety, is attended with no criminal effects. Twenty or thirty families, in an

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an American cabin, reſide together in unſuſpicious and unſuſpected innocence: but in a more advanced period, the forms of modeſty are the great guardians of chaſtity. As the women had acquired an aſcendant at Sparta, their corruption, as has been obſerved by Ariſtotle, was one of the chief cauſes of the decline and ruin of that republic.

SPARTA was made for perpetuity, not for aggrandizement. While other ſtates extended their power and their dominion, the Spartans could not keep pace with the times. They had no other method, therefore, of preſerving their antient influence, but by depreſſing their neighbours: hence that inverted ambition which appears in the latter part of their hiſtory *.

SUCH were the outlines, the form, and the ſpirit of that ſingular conſtitution, atteſted by the firſt authors of antiquity, who beheld it both in its vigour and in its decline, and diſplayed on the authentic page of hiſtorical record. The life of Lycurgus, the legiſlator of this republic, is involved in the ſhade of a dark antiquity, and embelliſhed by fiction. Plutarch, his biographer, lived near a thouſand

* Vide Logan's Elements of the Philoſophy of Hiſtory.

years

years after his hero, and what credit is due to the traditions and fables of ſuch a remote era? To refer antient inſtitutions and cuſtoms to celebrated names, has been too common in all ages, as it ſuits the ſpirit of admiration which is natural to mankind, and the uninquiſitive indolence of authors, who chooſe rather to follow authorities, than to examine and inquire for themſelves. The moſt probable parts of the ſtory, as related by Plutarch, are, that Lycurgus was deſcended from the blood royal; that he was diſtinguiſhed by his wiſdom and virtue; that, in a time of turbulence and anarchy, he was called upon to arrange or new-model the commonwealth; and that, from comparing the code of Cretan policy with the antient uſages of the Dorians, he eſtabliſhed thoſe laws and inſtitutions which, receiving the divine ſanction of the Delphian oracle, ſubſiſted at Sparta for more than ſeven hundred years.

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Of the ATHENIAN *Government, and the Legiſlation of* SOLON.

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AFTER the death of Codrus, Jupiter was declared ſole monarch of Athens. In the place of their kings they conſtituted perpetual governors, under the name of archons. The blood of Codrus was reſpected in his deſcendants, and his ſon Medon was elected to this charge. The power of the archons was more limited than that of the kings: together with the name, the office was changed; the ſovereign authority was abridged; and the magiſtrates were made accountable to the people. Even this office, held for life, appeared to the reſtleſs Athenians to be too near a reſemblance to royalty, the very ſhadow of which they were reſolved to deſtroy. Accordingly, from a perpetual, they reduced it to a decennial adminiſtration. Wealth increaſing during a long peace, a new ſource of power aroſe from this diſtinction, and influence in private

vate life gave an aſcendency in the ſtate. From the competition of many candidates, Athens was indebted for a farther ſtep into the regions of freedom. The archonſhip was made annual, and the power was divided among nine, inveſted with various duties and authority. A power ſo limited was inſufficient to reſtrain a turbulent people. This oligarchy, acting with a vague and indefinite juriſprudence, various as well as partial in its decrees, gave riſe to faction and tumult. It would be difficult to determine what was the form of government at Athens till the time of Solon. At this period they had no written laws. The magiſtrates decided by uſages and forms, which originating in antient times, were not adapted to the preſent.

THE inconveniences of an unſettled government and an uncertain juriſprudence, induced all parties to concur in the reſolution to appoint a lawgiver. Draco was raiſed to this important office by the general voice of his countrymen. Little is known concerning this firſt legiſlator of Athens, except that his laws were remarkable for their ſeverity, which gave occaſion to Demades the orator to ſay, that they were not written with *ink* but with *blood*. This has been interpreted as a proof of his

Ante Ch. 624.

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own auſtere character: it was a teſtimony no leſs ſtrong of the turbulence of the times.

THE ſeverity of ſuch a ſyſtem defeated its own purpoſe. When the moſt trivial offences, as well as the moſt enormous crimes, were puniſhed with death or baniſhment, few would be accuſers of delinquents, and the humanity of the judges, except in the caſe of enormous crimes, would ſoften the rigors of law. The laws of Draco tended only to increaſe the evils which they were deſigned to remedy. Athens, labouring under internal diſorders, aggravated by external misfortunes, had recourſe to the wiſdom and the virtue of Solon to reform the conſtitution, and new-model the commonwealth. Deſcended from the race of Codrus, diſtinguiſhed by his genius for the fine arts, his eloquence, valour, and humanity, he was well qualified for the ſublime and patriotic employment of eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of government, and regulating the adminiſtration of juſtice, among a free but turbulent people. The combined evils of anarchy and oppreſſion raged at Athens, from the ſtruggles and conteſts between the rich and the poor. The unequal diviſion of property was the great ſource of diſcord and contention in the antient commonwealths. This was prevented at

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Ante Ch. 594.

at Sparta by an equal diviſion of the lands; but produced many alterations in the conſtitution of Rome, and was the immediate motive for the appointment of Solon to be lawgiver of Athens. In all countries the laws have given to the lender certain rights over the perſon of the borrower; but at Athens the rapacity of creditors knew no bounds. They compelled the inſolvent debtors to cultivate their lands, to perform the ſervices of ſlaves, and even to transfer their ſons and daughters as a marketable property. Abuſes, ſo ſhocking to humanity, produced a violent irritation in the minds of the people againſt their oppreſſors. Deriving courage from deſpair, they had taken the reſolution to elect and follow ſome warlike leader, in order to avenge themſelves on their oppreſſors, to eſtabliſh an equal partition of lands, and to inſtitute a new form of government *. At this critical period the character of Solon drew the attention of all parties; and, by univerſal conſent, he was appointed archon, with power to reform the laws and conſtitution of Athens.

At that time the ſtate of Attica was divided into three parties. The inhabitants of

* Plutarch in Solon.

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the mountains, among whom there was a more equal diviſion of property, ſtruggled for democratical government; the opulent poſſeſſors of the plains contended for an oligarchy; the third party, who lived on the ſea coaſt, having wealth unequally diſtributed among them, deſired a mixed government. From theſe various claims, and the ſtruggles of each party for their rights and for power, the inſtitutions of Solon took their riſe. Had he been appointed the abſolute dictator of the conſtitution, he would have eſtabliſhed a more perfect form of government: but the genius of the times, though it was directed, could not be controuled by the ſpirit of the lawgiver, and, according to his own expreſſion, "he gave the Athenians not the beſt laws, but the beſt they were capable of receiving."

He divided the Athenians into four claſſes, in proportion to their wealth. The firſt claſs conſiſted of thoſe whoſe lands annually yielded five hundred meaſures of liquid as well as dry commodities; and the minimum of whoſe yearly income may be calculated at ſixty pounds ſterling, which is equivalent, if we eſtimate the relative value of money by the price of labour and the neceſſaries of life, to about ſix hundred

dred pounds ſterling in the preſent age *. In the ſecond claſs were ranked ſuch citizens, whoſe eſtates produced three hundred meaſures; in the third, thoſe whoſe eſtates produced two hundred. The fourth claſs, and by far the moſt numerous, either poſſeſſed no landed property, or at leaſt enjoyed not a revenue in land equal to twenty-four pounds ſterling, or, according to the above proportion, two hundred and forty pounds of our preſent currency. The executive power, and all the offices of truſt and dignity, were veſted in the three firſt claſſes; the fourth claſs, though excluded from office, had the right of voting in the public aſſembly, and judging in the courts of juſtice. The importance of this privilege was overlooked at firſt, but in the end threw the whole power of the ſtate into the hands of the people. There lay an appeal from all the magiſtrates to the public aſſembly; the laws, many of which were obſcure, were interpreted by the popular tribunal; all affairs of ſtate, with regard to peace and war, were determined by the people; and as the loweſt claſs outnumbered the other three, they poſ-

* Vide Dr. Gillies, Introduct. to Lyſias, and Hiſt. Greece.

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ſeſſed a preponderancy of voices on all occaſions. Thus the Athenian conſtitution was purely democratical, and the judicative as well as legiſlative power was veſted in the people.

HOWEVER abſurd or impracticable democratical government may appear to the modern kingdoms of Europe, it was by no means ill adapted to antient Greece, and particularly to Attica. Though the ſupreme power was nominally veſted in the people, they who excluſively ſhared that power ſcarcely amounted to a tenth part of the men of the ſtate. The ſlaves, by whom all the laborious arts were exerciſed, were four times more numerous than the free men; and of the latter we may compute that little more than one half were entitled to any ſhare in the ſovereignty.

As a balance to the popular aſſembly, Solon inſtituted a new council or ſenate, conſiſting of a hundred men, choſen by ballot from each of the four tribes. This council was afterwards augmented to five hundred by Cliſthenes, when the number of tribes were increaſed to ten. The ſenate enjoyed the important prerogatives of convoking the popular aſſembly, of preparing all matters before they came to be decided by the people, to whom,

according to the conſtitution of Solon, nothing was to be propoſed that had not previouſly obtained the approbation of the ſenate. The candidates for a place in this aſſembly were ſtrictly examined into by the guardians of their reſpective tribes, and, previous to the ballot, were to be approved of by the archons. The mode of election by ballot preſerved the idea of equality ſo natural to a republic, prevented factious intrigue for office, and gave diſcontent the colour of irreligion.

FROM the ſame views of balancing the wildneſs and turbulence of democratic rule, Solon reſtored and reformed the court of Areopagus, whoſe authority had been nearly aboliſhed by the inſtitutions of Draco. The power of this court was merely judicative; it was compoſed of the archons, who had diſcharged the duties of their office with diſtinguiſhed integrity and reputation. This aſſembly met at night, and in the open air; thoſe who pleaded before them were not permitted to indulge themſelves in rhetorical declamation, but were ſtrictly confined to matters of fact and the merits of the cauſe. This auguſt tribunal was highly reſpected all over Greece for its wiſdom and integrity. The members of Areopagus were the guardians of religion and the laws, ſuper-

intended

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intended the education of youth, exerciſed a cenſorial power over the lives and manners of the citizens, and in dangerous emergencies were entitled to aſſume a ſort of dictatorial power *.

SUCH was the outline of the conſtitution eſtabliſhed by Solon, which was held in veneration by all antiquity. A particular detail of his laws tranſcends the boundaries of this work; it is ſufficient for our purpoſe to mark the principles on which they are founded.

LEGISLATION, as formerly mentioned, was a ſtudy and a ſcience in the early period of Greece. At a meeting of the ſeven wiſe men it was debated, which was the beſt form of government? "That," ſaid Solon, "is the beſt, in which all are taught to feel the injuries done to *each*." Accordingly, to unite all the citizens in a common intereſt, and inſpire a fellow-feeling through the whole ſtate, ſeems to have been the chief object in view throughout the legiſlation of Solon. The ultimate authority reſided in the people, becauſe the intereſts of the whole were concerned in the deciſion. Va-

* Iſocrat. Orat. Areopagit.—Athenienſium rempublicam non magis poſſe ſine Areopagi conſilio, quam mundum ſine providentiâ Dei, adminiſtrari. Cicer. de Natur. Deorum.

rious

rious laws were framed, more particularly to inculcate, that every man belonged to the ſtate. The debtor's effects might be ſeized, but his perſon was ſacred, for his goods were private property, but himſelf belonged to the republic. Idleneſs was puniſhed as a crime, becauſe the public ſuffers by the poverty, and gains by the induſtry of its members. The ſingular law which has excited ſo much ſurpriſe was founded on this principle, "that during an inſurrection or ſedition, the citizen who did not eſpouſe a ſide was to be held infamous." The ardour of the Athenians, and the intereſt they took in all public affairs, were ſufficiently powerful to diſpoſe them to the obſervance of this law.

ALL political inſtitutions have their advantages and defects, and as authors dwell on the one or the other, diſcourſes on government are apt to turn into panegyric or ſatire. Anacharſis, the Scythian, pointed out the defect in the Athenian conſtitution, when he obſerved, "that Solon appointed wiſe men to deliberate on cauſes, and fools to decide them." The power of the people became enormous and exceſſive. Such a multitude as an Athenian aſſembly, which ſeldom conſiſted of leſs than ſix thouſand perſons, was certainly unqualified to

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deliberate with wiſdom, or to decide with juſtice. The ſenate, and the court of Areopagus, intended as checks to the popular aſſemblies, did not remedy the evil. The Areopagus had no part in the government, and the ſenate, depending upon the people, could not repair a conſtitution which had eſſential defects. The ſenate was beſides too numerous. The experience of ages has demonſtrated, that all great aſſemblies are mobs, and that in proportion to the multitude of counſellors there is the leſs wiſdom. Accordingly the Athenian ſtate was tormented with faction and torn with diſſenſions. In the latter periods of the republic, the city was in inceſſant combuſtion, the aſſemblies tumultuous, and the people abandoned to the impetuoſity of every bold haranguer.

HUMANITY, generoſity, and greatneſs of ſoul, formed the character of the Athenians. Examples appear in every page of their hiſtory. But the people will always retain their character; fickle, capricious, unjuſt, and hurried away by the firſt impreſſions. A popular government is generally tyrannical. The Athenian deſpot, in many reſpects, reſembles the Perſian. The humours of a people, flattered and ſeduced by their orators, as Plato has obobſerved,

obſerved, are equally dangerous and terrible, as the caprices of a prince, corrupted by the homage and adulation of his courtiers.

In all the Grecian republics every freeman was bound to military ſervice: the abundance of ſlaves rendered this both practicable and neceſſary. The labour of the ſlaves ſupported the free citizens; and the practice of arms became neceſſary to the latter, to hold their aſcendant over the former, as well as to preſerve the military ſpirit of the republic. At the age of eighteen every free Athenian was enrolled in the army. His duty, for the firſt two years, was confined within the bounds of Attica. At the age of twenty, the youth of all ranks took an oath, in the temple of Minerva, to obey the laws and promote the proſperity of their country; to follow the military ſtandard to every part of the world, when ſummoned by their commanders; to fight to the laſt for their native country; and to regard wheat, barley, vines, and olives, as the only boundary of Attica.

It has been already obſerved, that Athens at this time was divided into three parties, the inhabitants of the mountains, thoſe of the plains, and thoſe on the ſea-coaſt. Soon after the departure of Solon (who had bound

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the people by oath to make no innovation in the commonwealth for ten years) theſe parties, under their leaders, Piſiſtratus, Megacles, and Lycurgus, began to re-appear. Megacles, the chief of the Alemæonidæ, was powerful by his wealth, his alliance by marriage to Cliſthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, and by the renown which he had acquired in the Olympian, Pythian, and Iſthmian games. Piſiſtratus was deſcended of an antient family, that traced their pedigree to Codrus, the laſt of the Athenian kings. To extraordinary abilities and a lofty ſpirit, Piſiſtratus added engaging manners and an inſinuating addreſs: and he had diſplayed his valour and conduct in ſeveral military enterprizes. To effectuate his ambitious deſigns, he employed a ſingular ſtratagem, or dexterouſly availed himſelf of a real incident. Wounded in ſeveral parts of the body, he drove his chariot into the market-place, and ſhewing himſelf all covered with blood, he implored the protection of the people from his enemies, by whom, according to his own repreſentation, he had been attacked as he was going into the country. Moved by his appearance and his ſtory, the people appointed him a guard of fifty men for the ſecurity of his perſon. With the aſſiſtance of theſe

theſe he made himſelf maſter of the citadel, and his opponents were forced to ſubmiſſion, or retired to baniſhment. Henceforth he is diſtinguiſhed by the hiſtorians as the Tyrant of Athens, a term employed by the Greeks to denote the citizen of a republic who had acquired ſovereignty over his fellow-citizens.

PISISTRATUS made no changes in the conſtitution of Solon. Gentle in the exerciſe of ſovereignty, he maintained the regular courſe of law and juſtice, not only by his authority but by his example. When he heard that he was accuſed in the Areopagus, he appeared in perſon to anſwer the accuſation. The reputation of his wiſdom added his name to the ſages of Greece. He was the firſt that inſtituted a public library; he introduced the Iliad of Homer to the knowledge of his countrymen; adorned the city with fine edifices and temples, and poliſhed the manners of the Athenians. "Take away only his ambition," ſaid Solon, "and he is the beſt citizen of Athens."

FROM comparing the antient hiſtorians, it is probable that his ſons ſhared the kingdom between them, though Hipparchus, as the elder, enjoyed the chief authority. His character is tranſmitted to us by Plato as one of the moſt

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moſt perfect in hiſtory, and the period of his adminiſtration is compared to the golden age. He was a patron of learning and learned men. He introduced the poems of Homer more generally to the knowledge of his countrymen, by commanding them to be ſung at the Panathenean feſtival. He kept the poet Simonides in his court, and ſent a galley to bring Anacreon to Athens. To diſpel the ignorance and barbarity of an age, when books and literature were confined to a few, he erected marble pillars, engraved with moral verſes, in the city and in the country. The progreſs of art diſplayed itſelf in the riſing temples of Athens, and the firſt fruits of Attic genius and taſte began to appear. The public revenues were at the ſame time improved, and the adminiſtration of the commonwealth happily conducted at home and abroad. According to the remarkable expreſſion of Thucydides, "the tyrants Hippias and Hipparchus ſingularly cultivated wiſdom and virtue."

HISTORIANS, who lived neareſt the period of theſe events, differ concerning the cauſes and the circumſtances of the conſpiracy againſt Hipparchus: but all agree that it was private revenge, and not any political motive, that armed the hands of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton

ton againſt the life of the tyrants. Their hoſtile intention ſeems only to have been imparted to a choſen number of their friends. They fixed the day of execution on the feaſt of Panathenea, when all the citizens wore arms. The ſuſpicion of being betrayed ſaved Hippias from their rage, but Hipparchus was aſſaſſinated. Harmodius alſo was killed on the ſpot; Ariſtogiton was puniſhed by the multitude *. CHAP. XIV.

FROM this time tyranny began at Athens. Reſentment, uncertainty, ſuſpicion, led Hippias to ſeverities. From that moment he became ſtern and ſanguinary. Many Athenians were put to death. Neceſſity produced a change in his conduct; diſtruſting the affections of his countrymen, he ſought other ſupports of his power, and became odious to the people. Ante Ch. 513.

THE party of the Alcmæonidæ, baniſhed by Piſiſtratus, were not idle in their exile. With the view of expelling Hippias, and recovering Athens, they employed every means of preſerving and extending their influence among the Grecian ſtates. The temple of Delphi was burned to the ground. The Alcmæonidæ un-

* Thucyd. lib. vi. cap. 57.

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dertook to rebuild it at the deſire of the Amphictyons. As they poſſeſſed great wealth, they exceeded their contract in the magnificence of the execution, and in particular faced the frontiſpiece with Parian marble inſtead of ſtone. By theſe means the Amphictyons were gained to their ſide, and the divinity of the place engaged in their protection. The prieſteſs of Delphi, whenever the Lacedemonians came to conſult the oracle, concluded her anſwer, by enjoining them "to deliver Athens from the tyranny of the Piſiſtratidæ." This ſtratagem had the deſired effect. The Lacedemonians, though bound to the family of Piſiſtratus by the ſacred ties of hoſpitality, determined to invade Attica. After one unſucceſsful attempt, they ſent a larger army into the Athenian territories, under their king Cleomenes. Joined by the Alcmæonid party, and increaſed by numbers whom the ſeverities of Hippias had irritated, they laid ſiege to Athens. Hippias, unwilling to expoſe his children to the conſequences of a ſiege, ſent them ſecretly out of the city. They fell into the enemy's hands; unable to ſave their lives by any other means, Hippias agreed to reſign his ſovereignty, and retire into exile. The Athenians having recovered their liberty, decreed

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creed extraordinary honours to the memory of the Tyrannicides. The celebration of their achievement by ſongs, made a part of the religious ceremonies at the great feſtival of Panathenea. The cuſtom was introduced even at private entertainments, always to ſing the ſong of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton. Statues of the patriots, made by the greateſt artiſts at the public expence, and of the moſt coſtly materials, were erected in different places of greateſt reſort in the city. It was forbidden, by a particular law, to give their name to ſlaves. Obſequies were periodically performed to their memory, under the direction of the Polemarch archon. Particular honours, privileges, and emoluments, were decreed to their families; and, in terror to all invaders of public liberty in time to come, promiſes were held out by authority, that future ſufferers in the cauſe of freedom ſhould be equally honoured with Harmodius and Ariſtogiton *.

THE calm which Athens enjoyed was of ſhort duration. Cliſthenes, the ſon of Megacles, was now at the head of the Alcmæonidæ, and of courſe the firſt perſon in the commonwealth. But his genius was unequal to the

* Meurſius Piſiſtrat.

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government of a turbulent democracy. The principal Athenians attached themſelves to Iſagoras, who became the head of a new faction. The wealth of Cliſthenes procured him the ſupport of the lower ranks. By their influence in the public aſſembly he made ſeveral alterations in the form of government favourable to his own views, and increaſed the number of tribes to ten, to which he gave new names. To oppoſe his power, which now equalled that of Piſiſtratus, Iſagoras applied to Lacedemon, which at that time held the aſcendant in Greece. Cleomenes, who poſſeſſed greater influence in the government than is uſual to Spartan kings, immediately adopted the intereſts of Iſagoras, and ſending a herald to Athens, pronounced baniſhment on Cliſthenes, and the chiefs of his party. Such was the formidable name of Sparta, that Cliſthenes immediately obeyed the decree. The Spartans, who ſeized every occaſion of extending the authority or the influence of their ſtate, thought this a favourable ſeaſon for changing the Athenian conſtitution into the form of an ariſtocracy. Cleomenes marched to Athens with a ſmall army. At once he baniſhed ſeven hundred families, and was proceeding to diſſolve the council of five hundred,

hundred, and to veſt the power of the commonwealth in a new council of three hundred, all partiſans of Iſagoras; but the ſenate refuſed to ſubmit, and the people ran to arms. Cleomenes and Iſagoras were beſieged in the citadel, where they had taken refuge, and ſurrendered on conditions, that the Lacedemonians might depart in ſafety. Iſagoras accompanied them, but many Athenians of his party were put to death. Cliſthenes and the exiled families immediately returned. Such at that time were the rapid revolutions of Athens *. CHAP. XIV.

THE party who now aſſumed the government of Athens, apprehending the conſequences of a quarrel with Lacedemon, and deſtitute of allies in Greece, from the formidable power of Sparta, ſent ambaſſadors to Sardis, to form an alliance with Artaphernes the Perſian ſatrap. This was the firſt intercourſe between the vaſt empire of Perſia and the European Greeks. The ſatrap received the deputies of a little unknown republic with the inſolence of the lords of the eaſt. Having enquired who they were, and from what part of the world they came; and being informed from Greece, he briefly replied, "That if they would acknowledge ſubjection Ante Ch. 505.

* Herodot. lib. v. cap. 72. Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 126.

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to the Perſians, by giving earth and water to king Darius, they might be received into alliance, otherwiſe they muſt depart." Such was the critical ſituation of their country, that the ambaſſadors conſented to theſe humiliating terms.

THE reſtleſs temper of Cleomenes brooded over his late diſappointment and diſgrace at Athens. On his return to Sparta, he endeavoured to excite a new confederacy againſt the Athenian government. He diſcovered to the Spartan ſenate the colluſion of the Delphian prieſts with the Alcmæonidæ, in regard to the pretended reſponſes of the oracle; and repreſented the injuſtice as well as imprudence of their conduct in expelling Hippias, whom they were bound to protect and defend, by the laws of hoſpitality, and the intereſt of their country. The Spartan government, jealous of the growing power of the Athenians ſince they had recovered their liberty, conſented that Hippias ſhould be invited into Peloponneſus, and wiſhed to reſtore him to the throne of his father. With this view they ſummoned to a congreſs all their allies in Peloponneſus. The deputies of the ſeveral ſtates, having aſſembled in the Spartan forum, Cleomenes explained the intentions of the republic. His eloquence pro-

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duced not the intended effect. The Peloponneſians, however jealous of the Athenian greatneſs, were ſtill more jealous of the power of tyrants; and many of them, who had experienced the haughtineſs of Sparta, were not diſſatisfied with beholding a rival to that republic in the northern diviſion of Greece. The other deputies expreſſed their diſſent by ſilent diſapprobation; but Soſicles, the Corinthian, condemned the meaſure with ſuch force of argument and fervor of eloquence, that Cleomenes deſiſted from the deſign.

Hippias finding his cauſe univerſally abandoned by the Greeks, ſought the protection of Artaphernes, the Perſian governor of Sardis. As Athens had ſet the example of ſoliciting the Perſian protection, it is not ſurpriſing that the dethroned prince ſhould have followed the example. Hippias found the attention and reſpect which his rank and character might ſeem to deſerve. The Athenians, informed of his favourable reception at the court of the ſatrap, ſent ambaſſadors to Sardis to counteract the intrigues of their baniſhed prince; but Artaphernes had taken his reſolution, and gave for his final anſwer to the ambaſſadors, "That if they conſulted their ſafety, and would avoid the reſentment of Perſia,

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sia, they must receive Hippias into their city." At the return of the ambassadors, universal indignation, not without alarm, prevailed in Athens: but the assembly finally resolved to resist all the power of the Persian empire, rather than admit within their walls the avowed enemy of their liberties.

AT this critical juncture Aristagoras arrived at Athens, explained the revolt of the Asiatic Greeks from the government of Artaphernes, and solicited the Athenians to assist the Ionian confederacy, and defend their own colonies against the oppression of the common foe. The Ionians, a Grecian colony, inhabited the sea-coast of Asia Minor, and had long been tributary to the Persian empire. In a contest of factions at Naxos, one of the Cyclades islands, the democratical party prevailing, the principal citizens were expelled, who, taking refuge at Miletus, implored the assistance of Aristagoras, the Persian governor of that city, to restore them to their native country *. From this Aristagoras conceived the design of reducing Naxos, and the neighbouring islands, under the Persian power. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and brother to Darius, approved of the plan, and joined in com-

* Herodot. lib. v. cap. 28.

mand

mand with Ariſtagoras, Megabetes, a noble Perſian, and his kinſman. The inhabitants of Naxos made a formidable reſiſtance; the commanders quarrelled; the enterprize was abandoned; and Megabetes, attributing the bad ſucceſs of this expedition to the conduct of his rival, had it in his power to ruin him with Artaphernes. In this critical ſituation, Ariſtagoras believing his deſtruction or diſgrace inevitable, meditated a revolt; when a meſſenger unexpectedly arrived from his uncle Hiſtiæus *, exhorting him to that meaſure. Nothing more was wanting to confirm the wavering reſolution of Ariſtagoras. Having ſounded the principal Mileſians, he propoſed the reſtoration of republican government, and immediately reſigned the ſupreme command. The ſtandard of freedom was ſoon ſurrounded by the flower of the Ionian youth; by whoſe aſſiſtance, traverſing the whole coaſt, he proclaimed liberty and independence to all who were worthy to acquire them.

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Engaged in ſuch a hazardous enterprize, he left nothing unattempted which might contribute to its ſucceſs. He undertook an embaſſy to Greece, with the hope of gaining

* An honourable exile at Suſa.

the

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the parent ſtates to the cauſe of the colonies. He began his negotiations at Sparta, and repreſented to Cleomenes what a noble occaſion now preſented itſelf to the Spartans of employing their valour in procuring liberty to their countrymen the Ionians. Cleomenes heſitated. Ariſtagoras having explained the diſtance of the journey, was ordered to depart from Sparta before the ſetting of the ſun.

UNGENEROUSLY diſmiſſed from Sparta, Ariſtagoras went to Athens, the mother country of the Ionians. The Athenians, as a maritime ſtate, had always maintained a cloſer connection than the Spartans with their diſtant colonies; and he arrived at that critical period, when the people, full of indignation againſt the Perſians for having recently ſummoned them to reſtore Hippias to the royal dignity, were moved from affection, as well as reſentment, to liſten to his requeſt. They voted twenty ſhips to aſſiſt the Ionians; and this circumſtance, to uſe the expreſſion of a reſpectable hiſtorian *, "gave fire to thoſe wars, which was never thoroughly quenched but in the ruin of the great Perſian monarchy."

THE adminiſtration of Artaphernes appears

* Sir Walter Raleigh.

to have been negligent and feeble. The Athenian ſhips arrived at Miletus, with five added by the Eretrians. The combined fleets ſailed to Epheſus, and the land forces debarking, marched directly to Sardis, the capital of the antient kingdom of Lydia. In the firſt tumult an Ionian ſoldier ſet fire to a houſe; as moſt of the houſes were walled or covered with reed, the flames ſpread rapidly, and the city was laid in aſhes.

When Darius was informed of the burning of Sardis, and that the Athenians had aſſiſted the Ionians in their rebellion, he ſhot an arrow into the air, praying that Heaven might aſſiſt him in puniſhing the inſolence of that republic; and commanded one of his attendants to repeat in his hearing, every day, when he ſat down to table, "Remember the Athenians *."

In the ſixth year from the revolt of Ariſtagoras, the city of Miletus, the centre of the Ionian confederacy, was beſieged and taken by Artaphernes, the Perſian general: all the other cities, both on the ſea-coaſt and in the iſlands, ſoon returned to their duty; and the Aſiatic Greeks, firſt conquered by the Lydians, now

* Herodot. lib. v. cap. 105.

ſubmitted

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ſubmitted for the ſecond time to the Perſian power.

But the reſentment of Darius was not gratified; ambition and vengeance equally prompted him to undertake the conqueſt of Greece. With this view he ſent heralds through the Grecian dominions to demand earth and water, as ſymbols of ſubmiſſion and dependence. Dreading the formidable power of the Perſians, many towns on the continent, and moſt of the iſlands, obeyed.

But the Athenians and Spartans rejected the demand with indignation; and, from the boldneſs of character natural to republicans, they threw one of the heralds into a well, and another into a deep ditch, telling them to take from thence as much earth and water as they choſe *. More provoked with theſe inſults, Darius accelerated his long-intended project of vengeance upon Greece.

Seldom does a greater or more intereſting ſpectacle occur in the annals of hiſtory, than the Aſiatic expedition into Europe, and the war between the Greeks and the Perſians. The former conflicts, in which the Grecian ſtates had been engaged, were confined to

* Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 133.

their

their own frontiers, and extended not their consequences beyond the countries in which they arose. But this memorable war reached the extremities, and shook the centre of Greece. It recoiled with more destructive violence on Persia; its duration comprehends an illustrious period in the history of both countries; and its extent embraces all the great nations of antiquity, together with the scattered communities of Grecian extraction in every part of the world. Nor did the event of this enterprize interest these nations alone; the fate of future ages was involved in the contest. The important question was brought to the decision of the sword, whether Asia or Europe was to give the law to the world; whether the page of history, and the progress of civilization among the nations, were to proceed from the dominions of despotism, or the regions of freedom and science. Previous to a detail of the events in this war, it is requisite to take a view of the situation, character, and force of the contending nations. CHAP. XIV.

The Persian empire was at this time more extensive than it had been under Cyrus the Great. Beside the immense provinces of the Greater Asia, the vast continent of the Lower Asia submitted to the sceptre of Darius; the

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antient kingdom of Lydia was ſubdued; Arabia was tributary; Thrace and Macedonia bended to the yoke; and Egypt was a province in the empire of the great king. The power of theſe extenſive provinces was abſolute and ſupreme; the millions of Aſia were ever ready to march at his command; and the wealth of antient kingdoms that had been conquered were laid up in the treaſury. The revenue of the empire under Darius amounted to fourteen thouſand five hundred and ſixty Eubæic talents; a ſum which, conſidering the value of money in antient times, exceeded thirty millions at preſent. Beſides this ſtated income, Darius might, on any extraordinary occaſion, demand the money and ſervices of his ſubjects. His predeceſſors were ſatisfied with voluntary contributions and a militia. This prince eſtabliſhed taxes and a ſtanding army. The number of his troops equalled the reſources of his treaſury; and both correſponded to the extent of his dominions, which comprehended the greateſt and moſt populous nations of the earth.

GREECE, in its utmoſt extent, comprehended only three hundred and eighty miles in length, and three hundred and ten in breadth. Sparta and Athens were the cities that ſtood foremoſt

foremoſt on this occaſion, and bore the chief burthen of the war. Laconia ſtretched a hundred miles in length, and fifty in breadth. The freemen amounted to thirty-nine thouſand. The country was fertile; but the laws of Lycurgus prevented them from the acquiſition of wealth. This circumſtance, however, like the vow of poverty among the religious orders in the church of Rome, ſuggeſted and nouriſhed an unbounded ambition. From the conqueſt of Meſſene to the cloſe of the Perſian wars, they had been at the head of Grecian affairs. Long allied with Corinth, the richeſt republic of Greece, and, as the more powerful ſtate, taking the lead in the confederacy, they commanded Peloponneſus, and watched every opportunity to increaſe their influence and extend their power. Whenever the Grecian ſtates were engaged in wars with one another, or in diſſenſions within themſelves, the Lacedemonians interfered as mediators, and held the balance between contending parties. It was the character of the Spartan government to be cautious in enterprize, but unſhaken in principle; firm in reſolution, and immovable by danger. Independence on any foreign ſtate was one great object of its ſingular inſtitutions; and a people

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ple who aſpired to dominion over others, never bowed to a ſuperior power. Notwithſtanding the late hoſtility of Sparta to Athens, circumſtances concurred at this time to conciliate their cordiality, and promote their union. The antient animoſity between Lacedemon and Argos had been revived and heightened by recent tranſactions. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, having invaded Argolis, maſſacred a large body of Argians who had ſurrendered themſelves on promiſes of ſafety. Thebes, formerly the principal ally of Sparta beyond Peloponneſus, had been led by its prevailing faction to ſubmit to the demands of Perſia. Theſe circumſtances determined Sparta to a cordial union with Athens, in defending the liberties of Greece againſt all the force of the Perſian empire.

THE Athenians had been lately emancipated from the tyranny of the Piſiſtradæ. On the re-eſtabliſhment of popular government, an enthuſiaſm for liberty was kindled, and they became a great people. When under the controul of their kings, ſays Herodotus, the Athenians were of little account in Greece; but immediately on the ſubverſion of the tyranny they roſe to diſtinction, and became more illuſtrious than that people which had hitherto

hitherto held them in ſuch little eſtimation. Hence, after the expulſion of Hippias, the Athenians ſeem rather inſpired than taught, and raiſed to inſtantaneous rather than progreſſive elevation. The outſet of free governments is ever marked with peculiar force and vigour. As the limbs newly unſhackled, ſo the mind, liberated from the dominion of tyranny, ſprings with elaſticity and ardour to every object of purſuit; the people regard their new compact with a ſacred reverence, and the flame of patriotiſm catches and pervades the whole community. In the firſt years of their freedom, the Athenians acquired an aſcendant in Greece, which was fatal to their enemies, and at laſt dangerous to themſelves. They chaſtiſed the inſolence of the iſlanders of Eubœa and Egina, who contended with them in naval power; and humbled the pride of Thebes, which had rivalled them in military glory. When the Perſian monarch meditated the deſtruction of Greece, the Athenians ſaw and prepared for the impending ſtorm. A ſmall corner of Europe oppoſed itſelf to the whole force of Aſia. What could the thouſands of Greece perform againſt the millions of Perſia? They could die; and with ſuch a ſpirit perhaps might gain the victory.

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THE experience of ages demonſtrates, that kingdoms are not powerful beyond a certain extent of territory. The enormous and unwieldy dimenſions of an overgrown empire, form not ſtrength, but extended weakneſs. Nature hath preſcribed limits to the ambition of nations as well as of individuals. The kingdom of Parthia, circumſcribed within moderate bounds, was more powerful than any of the eaſtern empires. Unleſs a communication is kept up between the capital, or ſeat of government, and the frontier provinces, authority cannot be maintained. In the time of foreign war, too, the ſubjected kingdoms are apt to revolt, and the diſtant provinces to rebel. No bond can connect ſuch diſcontiguous parts; no ſpirit can animate ſuch diſcordant bodies. From theſe general, rather than any particular cauſes, the empires of the eaſt have generally fallen with the ſame facility with which they aroſe.

WHEN Darius meditated the conqueſt of Greece, the Perſians were no longer the ſame people who had fought and conquered under Cyrus the Great. They had aſſumed the manners and imitated the vices of the nations whom they ſubdued. The name of a conquering nation only remained with them;

them: and the Perſian armies were in effect compoſed of Medes, Aſſyrians, Babylonians, and Egyptians; mercenary and corrupted bodies of men, who had no glory to gain, and no character to loſe.

GREECE, for ever in a ferment, and torn with faction in the time of peace, joined in the cloſeſt union againſt a common enemy. In the common cauſe of liberty, rival ſtates forgot their animoſities; they deliberated with unanimity, and acted with vigour. While the one nation was in its decline, the other was advancing to maturity.

IN an empire formed like Perſia from the ruin of provinces, the people, ſubjected by fear and ruled with oppreſſion, contract a habit of ſlavery. Accuſtomed to vexations, they learn to ſuffer them like neceſſary evils. They have no intereſt in common with their lord; they have no attachment to country, and never feel the ſpirit of freemen: without ambition or emulation they are dead members of a vaſt and ill-organized body. We cannot be ſurpriſed then to find generals without conduct, and armies without courage or diſcipline. Virtues and talents were neither ſought nor regarded; merit was kept at a diſtance from the throne. Intrigue diſpoſed

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of places; and the art of amuſing or pleaſing was the title to royal favour. The rank of a general was often beſtowed to remove a courtier who was formidable to his rivals.

THE inſtitutions of Lycurgus and Solon were then in their vigour at Sparta and Athens. The cities, under the protection of law, enjoyed their liberty and their property. To the courage, which they derived from nature, and the force of inſtitution, the Greeks added a knowledge of the military art. Their warlike achievements had not been ſo brilliant as in after-periods; but they had been more inſtructive than the ſplendid victories of the Medes and the Perſians. In republics of ſmall extent, and frequently engaged in war with each other, military merit becomes the chief object of ſtudy, and leads to conſequence and renown. Their daily practice in the gymnaſtic had given them agility of limbs, and an unuſual degree of vigour both to mind and body; their frequent exerciſe in the field of battle had inured them to hardſhip, fatigue, and the reſtraints of diſcipline; and an acknowledged pre-eminence among their neighbours had inſpired them with a martial enthuſiaſm, which was doubly animated in defence of their freedom and their country.

Merit

Merit alone raiſed to employments in the ſtate. The talent of commanding was the ſole title to command. Athens proſcribed great men becauſe they were dangerous to her conſtitution, but ſhe reſpected them ſtill. Her fear compelled her to baniſh them; but her eſteem re-produced them. When ſhe excluded one hero from her walls, ſhe opened her gates to another.

SUCH were the different ſituations of Perſia and of Greece. Numbers, wealth, and extent of dominion, on the one ſide: diſciplined valour, the love of country, and perſevering ſpirit, on the other.

IN the ſecond ſpring after the reduction of Miletus, Mardonius, a Perſian nobleman of the firſt rank, and ſon-in-law to Darius, was ſent with a powerful fleet, and a numerous army, to take vengeance on Eretria and Athens for the burning of Sardis. The youthful ambition of Mardonius prompted him to extraordinary things. Arriving in Ionia, he depoſed all the tyrants, and eſtabliſhed democratical government in every Grecian city. Collecting from the Ionians and Æolians a conſiderable addition to his forces both by ſea and land, he proceeded to the Helleſpont, and paſſed into Europe. All, as far as Macedonia, was already

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ready ſubject to Perſia; and that kingdom, which had formerly bought its peace by the humiliating ceremony of delivering earth and water, was now compelled to pay tribute. But having ſteered ſouthward from Thaſus, the whole armament was overtaken and almoſt deſtroyed by a violent ſtorm, while attempting to double the promontory of Mount Athos: three hundred veſſels were daſhed againſt the rocks, twenty thouſand men periſhed in the waves *. His army alſo, in paſſing through Thrace, was attacked in the camp during the night, and Mardonius himſelf wounded. Theſe diſaſters totally defeated the deſign of the expedition; and Mardonius having recovered the ſhattered remains of the fleet and army, returned to the court of Perſia, where, by flattering the pride, he averted the reſentment of Darius.

He was recalled however from the command of Leſſer Aſia, and two generals were appointed in his room: Artaphernes, ſon of the late ſatrap of that name, and Datis a Median nobleman, more diſtinguiſhed by his age and experience. Theſe generals, leading a land force from the interior provinces, met

* Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 44.

the

the fleet on the coaſt of Cilicia. This armament the Perſian generals were ordered to employ in extending their conqueſts on the ſide of Europe, and particularly in chaſtiſing the inſolence of the Eretrians and Athenians, the only nations which had conſpired with the revolt of the Ionians, and aſſiſted in the deſtruction of Sardis. Having ſubdued Naxos, and the neighbouring iſlands in the Egean, the ſtorm now approached Eretria. During ſix days the Perſian aſſaults were vigorouſly oppoſed. On the ſeventh the place was betrayed by two of the principal citizens. The temples were plundered and burnt; and the inhabitants condemned to ſlavery.

THE Perſian army now croſſed into Attica, having Hippias, the baniſhed king of Athens, for their counſellor and conductor.

HAVING encamped at Marathon, they ſent to inform Athens of the puniſhment inflicted on the Eretrians.

IN this alarming ſituation of Greece, no meaſures had been concerted for general ſecurity. The Aſian Greeks had been firſt ſubdued. The Perſian dominion then extended itſelf into Europe, as far as the confines of Theſſaly. All the iſlands had now fallen. The Perſian army paſſed the narrow channel

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which ſeparates them; and ſtill no confederacy for common defence ſeems to have been propoſed. After the taking of Eretria, the Athenians applied for aſſiſtance to the Lacedemonians, who granted them two thouſand men; but antient ſuperſtition, which prevailed at Sparta, prevented theſe forces from beginning to march till after the full-moon, by which means they did not arrive at Athens till four days after the battle of Marathon. The terror of the Perſian name reſtrained the other ſtates from furniſhing the expected aid. Platea alone ſent a thouſand men to join the Athenian army. In this extremity the Athenians aſſembled all their forces, and armed even their ſlaves.

FORTUNATELY at this time there was in Athens a man qualified, both by genius and experience, to take the lead on ſuch a momentous occaſion; Miltiades, the expelled chief of Cherſoneſus. When the ten generals who commanded the army, each in his turn for a day, deliberated whether they ſhould venture to meet the enemy in the field, or prepare for a ſiege; and the opinions being equally divided, the Polemarch archon, according to antient cuſtom, was called to give the caſting vote. The ſpeech of Miltiades

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on that occaſion, recorded by Herodotus *, explains the politics and temper of the times, and accounts for the conduct of that able commander, who, contrary to the common principles of defenſive war, was for riſking at once a deciſive engagement with an enemy ſo ſuperior in numbers. "It depends on you," ſaid Miltiades to the Polemarch Callimachus, "either to reduce Athens to ſlavery, or, by eſtabliſhing her freedom, to leave an eternal memory of yourſelf among men, more glorious than even Harmodius and Ariſtogiton have acquired; for never, ſince the Athenians were a people, have they been menaced with danger like the preſent. If, yielding to the Perſians, they are delivered into the power of Hippias, let imagination figure what their calamities will be; but if they conquer, Athens will become the firſt city of Greece. Should they then, by your deciſion, be debarred from preſently engaging the enemy, I well know that faction will divide the minds of our citizens, and a party among them will not ſcruple to make terms with the Perſians to the deſtruction of the reſt: but if we engage before any corrupt diſpoſition prevails, the gods only diſpenſing equal favour, we are able to conquer."

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* Lib. vi. cap. 109.

THE

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THE Perſians had, for a century paſt, been accuſtomed to almoſt uninterrupted ſucceſs. They had often engaged and defeated the Greeks of Aſia and of Cyprus. The army, under Datis and Artaphernes, advanced therefore towards Athens with confidence of ſucceſs, and hopes of victory. Herodotus does not mention their numbers. According to Cornelius Nepos they amounted to a hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. Neither are the numbers of the Athenian army mentioned by Herodotus, the hiſtorian who lived neareſt the time of theſe events. It is probable that they amounted to twenty thouſand free men, and an equal number of armed ſlaves *.

BUT it was to the genius of Miltiades, more than to her own ſtrength, that Athens was indebted for her preſervation. In critical emergencies men are arranged according to their abilities; and conſpicuous merit is elevated to the higheſt ſtation. Ariſtides, one of the ten generals, reſigned his day of command to the approved valour and experience of Miltiades; the reſt followed the illuſtrious example, and ſacrificed the dictates of private

* Vide the learned and ingenious Mr. Mitford's Hiſt. Greece, p. 346.

ambition

ambition to the intereſt and glory of their country. The extreme inconveniences attending a divided authority were thus obviated; and the commander in chief enjoyed an opportunity of exerting all his efforts in the ſervice of the ſtate. Miltiades to his other advantages joined that of having ſerved with the Perſians. He was therefore well acquainted with the arrangement of their armies, the temper of their troops, the ordinary ſyſtem of their generals, and he knew how to profit by his knowledge. The Greeks, whoſe chief ſtrength conſiſted in their heavy armed foot, uſually began an engagement with a few diſcharges of miſſile weapons, and then preſently came to cloſe fight with their long ſpears. The Perſians made more uſe of the bow, and leſs of the ſpear; and depended much on their cavalry, in which the Greeks (the Theſſalians excepted) from the nature of their country, were extremely deficient. The defenſive armour of the Perſian infantry was alſo inferior to the Grecian. "The Perſians," ſays Herodotus *, "go to battle carrying bows and ſhort ſpears, and wearing

* Lib. v. cap. 49.

ſtockings

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ſtockings and turbans; the Greeks carried long ſpears and ſwords, and wore greaves and helmets." The braveſt of the Perſian troops fought on horſeback; but in all ages the long Grecian ſpear has proved the ſureſt defence againſt the attack of cavalry, inſomuch that even the Romans, in fighting againſt the Numidian horſemen, preferred the ſtrength of the phalanx to the activity of the legion. The various nations which compoſed the Perſian army, though not deſtitute of valour, or ignorant of military diſcipline, compared with the regularity of the Greek battalions, may be regarded as a promiſcuous crowd, armed in each diviſion with the peculiar weapons of their reſpective countries, and incapable of being united into any uniform ſyſtem of military arrangement. The Greeks were not only ſuperior to the Perſians in their armour and military diſcipline; they poſſeſſed that enthuſiaſm and emulation which animate the boſoms of thoſe who have armed in the cauſe of liberty, and are prepared not only to fight, but to die for their country.

THE Perſian generals, guided by Hippias, had landed their troops on the eaſtern coaſt of Attica, and encamped in the narrow plain

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of Marathon. Miltiades poſted his army on the declivity of the hill above. His rear was defended by the mountain, which, verging round to meet the ſea, likewiſe covered his right; his left was flanked by the marſh of Marathon. Inſpecting the ground and the enemy, Miltiades determined to attack. The narrow plain was favourable to that mode of engagement, in which the Greeks excelled, and for which their arms were peculiarly adapted. To form a line equal to that of the enemy, Miltiades extended his front by weakening his centre. By order of their general, the Athenian army ruſhed down the hill with fury, and advanced to the attack, running the whole way. This ſingular onſet was derided by the Perſians, and imputed to ignorance of military diſcipline; but the effect of the ſhock proved the wiſdom with which it had been concerted. The Perſian cavalry, formidable in champaign countries by their rapid evolutions, were encumbered in this confined plain by their own infantry, and prevented from engaging. The braveſt of the Perſian troops, poſted in the centre, ſtood the impetuoſity of the attack, broke the weak part of the Athenian line, and purſued it to a diſtance.

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tance. After a fierce conflict, the Athenians routed and put to flight the two wings of the Perſian army; then joining their divided forces, they attacked the conquering centre of the barbarians returning weary from purſuit, and gave it a complete overthrow. The Perſians fled to their ſhips. Seven of their gallies were taken. Five Athenian generals, and about two hundred citizens, periſhed in the engagement. The Perſians loſt ſix thouſand of their braveſt troops. Hippias, the baniſhed king of Athens, was ſlain. After the battle, a ſoldier was ſent from the field to announce the victory at Athens. Exhauſted with fatigue and bleeding from his wounds, he had only time to cry out, "Rejoice, we are conquerors!" and immediately expired *.

AFTER the defeat at Marathon, the Perſian commander doubled the cape of Sunium, with the hopes of ſurpriſing the harbour of Athens, and taking the city by aſſault. Aware of the enemy's intention, Miltiades made a rapid march; and when the Perſians arrived off the port Phalerus, they ſaw an Athenian army encamped on the hill above. The Perſian

* Herod. lib. vi. cap. 1, 12, 13, &c.

fleet then ſailed to the coaſt of Aſia, carrying with them their Eretrian priſoners, who were conducted to Darius at Suſa. The great king ordered them immediately to be releaſed from their chains, and aſſigned them for their habitation a fertile diſtrict in the province of Ciſſia, about twenty-four miles from his capital. There the colony remained in the time of Herodotus, preſerving their Grecian language and manners; and, after a revolution of ſix hundred years, were diſtinguiſhed from the ſurrounding nations by certain marks of European extraction *. CHAP. XIV.

When the day of the full-moon was over, the Lacedemonians began their march with two thouſand men; and, having travelled a hundred and fifty miles in the ſpace of three days, arrived in Attica. The battle was fought the preceding day; however, they went forward to Marathon, and having gazed in ſilence on the field, congratulated the Athenians on their ſucceſs, and returned to their own country.

Monuments were raiſed to the memory of thoſe who had fallen in the field; and their

* Philoſtrat. vit. Apollon.

names,

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names, and the tribes to which they belonged, were recorded in marble. The valour of Miltiades too was rewarded. The battle of Marathon was painted; amid a group of figures, the perſon of Miltiades drew the eye in the attitude of giving orders at the head of the Athenian army. Athens produced great men, becauſe ſhe knew how to reward them.

THE battle of Marathon has often deſervedly filled the page of the hiſtorian. Never had ſo ſmall a body of forces overcome ſo great an hoſt. Their ſplendid achievements and extraordinary ſucceſs inſpired the Greeks with an enthuſiaſm of valour, and are conſidered by Plato as the ſource and original cauſe of their future conqueſts and victories. The terror of the Perſian power, hitherto ſo formidable, was diſſipated. The Greeks were taught, from ſucceſs, to know their own ſtrength, and to tremble no more at the name of an enemy whom they had conquered. On all following occaſions of importance, the orators recalled the field of Marathon to the remembrance of their countrymen, and held up Miltiades and his victorious troops to view, in order to inſpire them with a paſſion for glory, and the emulation of their anceſtors.

DELIVERED

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DELIVERED from impending deſtruction by the victory at Marathon, the Athenians began to extend their views, and to meditate conqueſt. The iſlands in the Egean had ſubmitted to the demands of Darius, and aided the cauſe of the Perſians. Miltiades was ſent with ſeventy ſhips to exact fines from them for their delinquency, and reduce them under the authority of the Athenian government. Paros reſiſted, and its principal town was beſieged. On a falſe report of the arrival of the Perſian fleet, Miltiades raiſed the ſiege, in which he had been dangerouſly wounded, and returned with his fleet to Athens, where an unſucceſsful commander never found a welcome reception.

FROM the expulſion of Hippias, the Alcmæonidæ had governed Athens. The glory of Miltiades, by diminiſhing their conſequence, excited their envy and oppoſition. He was accuſed by Xantippus, ſon-in-law of Megacles, the chief of the Alcmæonid party, of having raiſed the ſiege of Paros from the influence of a Perſian bribe. The hour of danger was paſt; and the ſervices of Miltiades were no longer neceſſary to the ſafety of the commonwealth. Influenced by the ruling party, Athens forgot her deliverer.

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He was condemned in a fine of fifty talents *, which he was unable to discharge. His wounds began to fester; and the hero of Marathon died in prison.

* About nine thousand four hundred pounds sterling.

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